1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2



764

The male relatives and friends then proceed to the spot selected for the burial, one of them carrying the corpse slung on his back. If the burial place can be reached by canoe, no hesitation is shown in making use of a canoe for the purpose. There are not, so far as could be discovered, any rules as to which of the men shall undertake the burial. Such relatives as brother, father, son or husband generally take the leading part. The women take no part in the actual burial. There are two modes of disposing of the body, in a grave dug in the ground, or upon a platform placed in a tree. The latter is considered the more honourable form of burial, and is only adopted in the case of a man or woman dying in the prime of life. The same grave is not used twice, in the case of interment, though a new grave may be made close to an old one. The natives said that the same tree might be used several times for platform-burial, but there was no opportunity of proving this statement. There are not, generally speaking, any regular burying grounds. Any convenient spot may be chosen so long as it is at some little distance from the camp. It does happen, however, that certain spots are fairly regularly used. In the case of one burial that I witnessed the spot chosen was about a mile distant from the camp, the journey being made in a canoe, and there were already five or six graves at the same place.

In the case of interment a hole is dug three or four feet in depth, the digging being done with an adze and a digging stick, and sometimes a wooden dish is used to scoop out the soil. The body is placed in the hole and the ropes tied round it are severed. The body is placed slightly on its side facing the east. I asked some of the natives the reason for this orientation, and was told that if the custom were not observed the sun would not rise and the world would be left in darkness. A pillow of wood is placed under the head, and a log of wood at each side of the corpse. Sometimes some object that has been worn by the deceased, such as a belt or necklace, is placed in the grave. The soil is then replaced, all present helping. Beside the grave a fire is lighted and some water contained in a bamboo vessel or in a nautilus shell is left for the corpse. In some cases the bow belonging to the deceased, if it be a man, and a few

[821]

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2



which he places all the victims, human or piscine, he may succeed in capturing[1]." 775

Mr Portman correctly translates the word *J̌uruwin* as meaning "the spirits of the sea" using the plural and not the singular[2].

Further references to the Andamanese beliefs about the spirits will be found later in the chapter. It is necessary at this point to consider an entirely different class of beings.

The Andaman Islanders personify the phenomena of nature with which they are acquainted, such as the sun and the moon. Before relating in detail what could be learnt about their beliefs on these matters, it is necessary to call attention to one feature of these beliefs. Different statements, not only of different informants, but even of the same informant, are often quite contradictory. For example, it is sometimes said that lightning is a person, and at other times it is said that lightning is a fire-brand thrown across the sky by a mythical being named *Biliku*. These two statements, which to all logical thinking are incompatible, are both given, and apparently both equally believed, by the same person. Many examples of such contradictions will be found in what follows, and it is important to point out their existence beforehand. 776 821

About the sun and moon, the most usual statement in all the tribes is that the sun is the wife of the moon and the stars are their children. In the North Andaman the moon is *Maia Dula* (*Aka-Čari*) or *Maia Čirikli* (*Aka-J̌eru*), the sun is *Mimi Diu* and their children the stars are *Čatlo*, the larger ones, and *Katań* the smaller. *Čatlo* is the name of a species of finely marked beetle, and *katań* is the name of the common fire-fly. Individual stars or constellations are not recognized.

Another version from the same tribes is that the moon (*Dula*) is female, and has a husband named *Maia Tok*, while the sun (*Diu* or *Tǫrodiu*) is male.

In the *Aka-J̌eru* tribe there is a belief that the moon (*Maia Čirikli*) can, when he wishes, turn himself into a pig, and come down to earth and feed on the things that the pigs eat. There

[1] Man, *op. cit.* pp. 158, 159.

[2] Portman, *Notes on the Languages*, etc. p. 183.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2



776 821 is a legend that on one occasion the moon thus turned himself into a pig and came down to earth to eat the *čuei* fruit. A man named *Maia Čoinyop* met the moon (in the form of a pig) in the forest, and shot him with an arrow. *Čirikli* (the moon) took out his knife and killed the unfortunate *Čoinyop*, cutting off his head, which he left behind, and taking the body up to the sky where he ate it.

In the *A-Pučikwar* tribe the most common statement is that the moon (*Puki*) is male and that the sun (*Puto*) is his wife. A different statement from the same tribe is that the moon is female and is the wife of a being named *Tomo*. *Tomo* seems to be to some extent identified with the sun. Thus one informant said that it is *Tomo* who sends the fine weather, and that it is he who sends the daylight every day. Where *Tomo* lives, in the sky, it is always day and is always fine. When the natives die their spirits go up to the sky and live with *Tomo*. We shall see in the next chapter that, according to some of the legends, *Tomo* is the first ancestor of the Andamanese.

Yet another version is that the moon was made by *Tomo* out of opalescent stone, and it is *Tomo* who, in some way, regulates its passage across the sky.

784 776 821 A belief about the moon which is found in all the tribes, both of the North and the South, is that he will be very angry if there is any fire, or any bright light, visible when he rises in the evening shortly after sundown. At such times the natives are careful to cover up their fires so that they only smoulder without flame. Mr Man refers to this custom. "From fear of displeasing *Maia Ogar* (Mr Moon), during the first few evenings of the third quarter, when he rises after sundown, they preserve silence, cease from any work on which they may be engaged—even halting should they be travelling—and almost extinguishing any light or fire that may be burning. This is owing to the belief that he is jealous of attention being distracted to other objects than himself at such a time, or of any other light being employed than that which he had been graciously pleased to afford so abundantly. By the time the moon has ascended a few degrees, however, they restore their fires and resume their former occupations, as they consider that they have sufficiently

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2



complied with *Maia Ogar's* wishes and requirements. The glowing aspect of the full moon on its first appearance above the horizon is supposed to indicate that *Maia Ogar* is enraged at finding some persons neglecting to observe these conciliatory measures; there is also an idea that, if he be greatly annoyed, he will punish them by withdrawing or diminishing the light of his countenance[1]."

As regards the waxing and waning of the moon, Mr Man says that these are explained by the *Aka-Bea* "by saying that they are occasioned by 'his' applying a coating of cloud to his person by degrees, after the manner of their own use of *koiob* (red paint) and *tala-og* (white clay) and then gradually wiping it off[2]." In the *Aka-Kede* tribe the natives say that as *Maia Čirike* (Sir Moon) goes across the sky, his tongue hangs out of his mouth, sometimes more, sometimes less, and that it is the tongue that is visible, that gives the light. I did not hear any explanation of the waxing and waning of the moon in the tribes of the North Andaman. In these tribes the new moon is called *Dula e-tire*, i.e. the "baby moon," the word *e-tire* denoting the young offspring of an animal or a human being.

With regard to a lunar eclipse Mr Man writes that "in case *Maia Ogar* should be so ill-advised as permanently to withhold his light or render himself in other ways still more disagreeable, whenever the moon is eclipsed some persons at once seize their bows and twang them as rapidly as possible, thereby producing a rattling sound as if discharging a large number of arrows, while others commence at once sharpening their *rata* (arrows). Of course this hostile demonstration is never lost upon the moon, who does not venture to hurt those who show themselves ready to give him so uncomfortable a reception. Their immunity from harm on these occasions has given rise to some joking at the expense of the luminary in question, for, during the continuance of the eclipse, they shout in inviting tones to the hidden orb as follows:—*Ogar, laden balak ban lebe y'idoati! doati! doati!* (O Moon, I will give you the seed of the *balak!* show yourself! appear! appear!) This is said derisively, for, although these

[1] Man, *op. cit.* p. 152. [2] *Ibid.* p. 160.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2



776
821

seeds are largely consumed by the pigs, the aborigines do not consider them fit for food[1]."

It may be noted that the invitation to the moon to eat *balak* seeds is not perhaps derisive, but may be connected with the belief that the moon can turn himself into a pig in order to feed on the things that pigs eat.

There was no eclipse of the moon during my stay in the islands. The natives of the North Andaman told me that on such an occasion they frighten the moon into showing himself again by lighting the end of a bamboo arrow-shaft, and shooting it from a bow in the direction of the moon. Another custom of which they told me is to take plumes of shredded *Tetranthera* wood (*čelmo* or *uj*) and blow on them towards the moon.

Mr Man states that "a solar eclipse alarms them too much to allow of their indulging in jests or threats, &c.: during the time it lasts they all remain silent and motionless, as if in momentary expectation of some calamity[2]."

There are several different accounts in the North Andaman of the phenomena of day and night. The night is often personified and is called *Mimi Bat* (Lady Night). One version is that it is she who makes the night while *Maia Toṛodiu* makes the day. *Diu* is the name of the sun, and *toṛo-diu* really means "the full sun" and refers to the middle part of the day when the sun is well up in the sky.

Another Northern version is that the daylight is made by a being named *Tautobitatmo* who lives in the sky. He shuts up the day under a stone every evening and lets it out every morning. Of *Tautobitatmo* I was told that he is sometimes to be seen in the evening sky, but I was not able to discover to what natural phenomenon reference was made. I was also unable to discover the meaning of the name, which is a compound, *tau* being the sky.

Still another version from the same tribes is that it is a being named *Maia Čara* who makes the daylight. *Čara* seems to be the equivalent of the *Tomo* of the *A-Pučikwar* and other Southern tribes. He is sometimes said to have been the first ancestor, and sometimes the creator, of the Andamanese. He lives in the sky.

[1] Man, *op. cit.* p. 160. [2] *Ibid.* p. 161.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2



Another belief about the night connects it with the spirits. The *Lau* (spirits) in the sky, wrap up the night in a cloth or mat. When they unroll the cloth it becomes dark. The natives of the North Andaman formerly called cloth *lau-ot-ǰulu*, from a stem *-ǰulu* meaning "cold." They were only acquainted with cloth through seeing it used by the aliens who visited their shores, and whom they called spirits (*Lau*).

In the North Andaman thunder and lightning are commonly personified. The lightning is *Ele* or *Ali*, and the thunder is *Korude* or *Korule*. Some of the natives spoke of *Mimi Ele* (female) and others of *Maia Ele* (male). He lives in the sky, which is regarded as being made of stone (or rock) and is called *tau-meo* (the sky-stone). The lightning is due to his shaking his foot. One rather obscure statement was to the effect that *Ele* spends most of his time asleep or lying down and doing nothing. When the weather gets bad *Lato* (a being that I could not identify), comes and worries *Ele* and wakes him up. Then *Ele* gets angry and shakes his leg. This is the lightning.

Thunder (*Korude*) also lives in the sky. It is said that he makes the thunder by means of a large round stone. One account is that he rolls the stone about over the sky. Another is that he makes the stone hot, and this produces the thunder.

An entirely different explanation of thunder and lightning, which is found in all the tribes, is that they are made by two beings named *Tarai* and *Biliku*, to be described later on in this chapter.

I never heard the rain (*ǰiċer*) spoken of as a person in the same way as thunder and lightning. One explanation of rain is that the sky-stone (*tau-meo*) gets cold, and this turns the mist (*milite*) into rain. Another is that in the sky there is a large hollow or pool, which gets filled with water and then overflows. Still another version is that the rain is made by a being (or beings) named *Ċaitoŋ*, who seems to be female and lives in the sky. I could not obtain any satisfactory information about her.

In all parts of the islands the rainbow is believed to have some connection with the spirits of the jungle or of the sea. One very common statement is that it is a bridge of cane that stretches between this world and the world of departed spirits.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2



776
•821

It is along the rainbow that the spirits travel when they visit the earth. It is necessary to correct a statement by Mr Portman on this matter. In connection with the *Aka-Bea* word for the rainbow, *pidga-l'ar-ĉauga*, he says "The root *pidga* (a rainbow) must not be confounded with the root *pidga* 'a cane' or 'rattan.' The Andamanese have certain legends regarding the uses of the rainbow, and these have been hitherto understood as referring to 'canes.' *Pidga-l'ar-ĉauga* means 'the rainbow (bridge) by which the spirits (cross)'[1]." Mr Portman is in error. The word *pidga* means "cane" and the whole word means "the cane of the spirits." It is the whole word that is the name of the rainbow, and not the word *pidga*. An exactly similar compound name for the rainbow exists in each of the languages of the Great Andaman. The name of the particular species of large cane varies, being *pidga* in *Aka-Bea*, *peta* in *A-Pučikwar*, *pir* in *Aka-J̌eru*, and so on. Apart from the fact that the natives themselves say that the rainbow is a "cane," Mr Portman would have us believe that in each of the different languages there are two exactly similar words, different in the different languages, one of which means "cane" and the other "rainbow," while there is no connection between the words. Thus *Aka-Bea* would have *pidga* meaning "a kind of cane" and *pidga* meaning "a rainbow." *Aka-J̌eru* would have *pir* meaning "cane" and *pir* meaning "rainbow."

The rainbow is generally regarded as an evil omen, being believed to be a precursor of sickness. One *Aka-J̌eru* statement is that it is made by a being called *Tolitoŋ* and that when it appears somebody will be ill.

776
823

The only explanation of the tides that I heard was to the effect that they are caused by a fish, a species of *Tetrodon*, called *čolmo* in *Aka-J̌eru* and *pit* in *Aka-Kede*, which drinks up the water and then lets it out again.

The Andaman Islands are occasionally visited by earthquakes. An *Aka-Kede* account of how earthquakes are caused is that when a man dies he goes to the spirit world which is beneath the earth. The spirits hold a ceremony. My informant spoke of the ceremony as *Kimil*, which is the name of the

[1] Portman, *Notes on the Languages of the South Andaman*, p. 328.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2



initiation ceremonies. At this ceremony they have a dance similar to the peace-making dance described in the last chapter, but instead of erecting a screen such as is used in that ceremony, they make use of the rainbow. As they shake the rainbow in dancing this causes earthquakes. The ceremony which newly-arrived spirits have to undergo in the world after death is a *poṛoto kimil*, i.e., the initiate eats *poṛoto* (*Caryota sobolifera*).

Among the most important of the Andamanese beliefs are those relating to the weather and the seasons. These are under the control of two beings named *Biliku*, *Bilik* or *Puluga*, and *Tarai*, *Teriya*, or *Daria*. There are a certain number of points in which the statements of one informant may differ from those of another in connection with these two mythical beings, but there are also a certain number of points on which there is absolute unanimity in all the tribes of the Great Andaman.

The first belief in which there is entire unanimity is that of the connection of *Biliku* and *Tarai* with the two chief winds that are known in the Andamans. *Biliku* lives in the north-east and is connected with the north-east monsoon. *Tarai* lives in the south-west and is connected with the south-west monsoon. The connection is shown in the names of these winds, which are as follows:—

| Language | N. E. Wind | S. W. Wind |
|---|---|---|
| *Aka-Cari*, *Aka-Bo*, *Aka-Kora*, *Aka-Jeru* | *Biliku boto* | *Tarai boto* |
| *Oko-Juwoi*, *Aka-Kol* and *A-Pucikwar* | *Bilik to* | *Teriya* |
| *Akar-Bale* | *Puluga toa* | *Daria* |
| *Aka-Bea* | *Puluga ta* | *Deria* |

In the Northern tribes the word *boto* means "wind." *Biliku boto* must be translated "the *Biliku* wind," and *Tarai boto* is similarly "the *Tarai* wind." It would be incorrect to translate the name *Biliku boto* as "the wind of *Biliku*," for this would be rendered in *Aka-Jeru* by *Biliku iču boto*. In *A-Pučikwar* the south-west wind is called *Teriya* simply, the name of the mythical being connected with the wind being used as the name of the wind itself, just as is the case with the name *Ele* (lightning). On the other hand the north-east wind is called not *Bilik* but *Bilik to*. The same thing occurs also in the *Akar-Bale* and *Aka-Bea* languages.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2



776
•821

Mr Portman translates the *Aka-Bea* term *Puluga ta* as "God's wind," and he adds, in explanation, "*Puluga ta* means 'God's wind,' and the reason for the name is not known. Some vague ideas regarding the direction of God's dwelling in the sky are the probable origin of the term[1]." As regards the translation of the Andamanese name *Puluga* by the English "God" more will be said later. Leaving that aside, it is important to note that *Puluga ta* does not mean "*Puluga's* wind." The word for wind in *Aka-Bea* is given by Mr Portman himself as ***wul-ŋa***, and the *Akar-Bale* and *A-Pučikwar* equivalents are ***poat-ŋa*** and *pọte*, being forms of the same stem as the Northern *bọto*. The translation of "*Puluga's* wind" in *A-Pučikwar* would be *Bilik l'iye pọte*, but this is not a phrase that the natives ever use. It is not possible to translate "*Puluga's* wind" accurately in *Akar-Bale*. *Puluga poat-ŋa* would mean "*Puluga* blowing" the *-ŋa* being a verbal ending. In any case *Bilik tọ*, and *Puluga toa* are not to be translated as meaning "*Puluga's* wind."

It may be observed, in reference to Mr Portman's statement, that the notions of the Andamanese as to the direction of the dwelling of *Puluga* in the sky are very far from vague. The natives all agree that *Puluga* or *Biliku* lives in the direction from which the north-east wind blows, really N.N.E. This is shown in geographical names. For example the side of Havelock Island that faces north-east is called *Puluga-l'ar-mugu*, meaning "the side that faces *Puluga*," from *ar-mugu* meaning "front" or "face."

There are two matters, then, on which there is absolute unanimity in all the tribes of the Great Andaman, one being the connection of *Biliku* (or *Puluga*) with the north-east and of *Tarai* (or *Deria*) with the south-west, and the other being the connection of these two beings with the winds that blow from these two opposite points of the compass.

The connection of these two beings with winds is shown in another way in the *A-Pučikwar* tribe, where the winds are divided into two divisions. One division contains only the south-west wind, which is of extreme regularity, and blows steadily for about five months in every year. This wind is

[1] Portman, *Notes on the Languages of the South Andaman*, p. 314.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2



called *Teriya*. The other division contains all the other winds, and they are collectively denoted by the term *Bilik*. They are distinguished by names, as *Jila Bilik* (the east *Bilik*, from *jila*, east) *Koico Bilik* (the west *Bilik*), *Metepur Bilik*, *Coliatum Bilik*, *Rartear Bilik*, and *Koicor-toy Bilik*. Here we find the name *Bilik* used not as the name of a single person, but as a common name for a class of beings who are the winds personified. The same use of the term is found also in the *Aka-Kol* tribe.

Even in the *Akar-Bale* tribe something of the same kind is found. One *Akar-Bale* man said that *Puluga* has two brothers, *Jila Puluga* (East *Puluga*) and *Koaičo Puluga* (West *Puluga*); the one sends all the easterly winds and the other all the westerly ones.

In the Andamans the year is divided into two nearly equal portions. During the season of the south-west monsoon, which lasts from May to September, the wind blows steadily from the south-west. This is the rainy season. Violent storms never or only very rarely occur during the season of the south-west wind. From December to March the wind blows mostly from the N.N.E., occasionally changing to E.N.E. or N.E. In the periods at the change of the monsoon (from N.E. to S.W. in April and May, and from S.W. to N.E. in October and November) the wind is variable, and may blow at times from E.S.E. or W.N.W.

The south-west wind (properly speaking W.S.W.) is identified, as we have seen with *Tarai* (*Deria*). Although *Biliku* (*Puluga*) is specially connected with the north-east wind, yet all the winds other than the south-west are commonly supposed to be sent by *Biliku*. Thus we have seen that in the *A-Pučikwar* tribe the different winds are named, each of them (with the exception of the south-west) being a *Bilik*.

It comes about, in this way, that the year is divided into two portions, one of which is specially connected with *Biliku* (*Puluga*), while the other is specially connected with *Tarai* (*Deria*). These two seasons are not quite of equal length. The *Tarai* season lasts only while the south-west monsoon is blowing, which, in an average year, is between four and five months. The other seven months are connected with *Biliku* and are divided into three portions, (1) the stormy season of October

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

776
821
132
805
776
821



and November, (2) the cold season of December to February, and (3) the hot season of March and April.

There are many points relating to *Biliku* and *Tarai* about which there is no general agreement amongst the tribes, or, in some cases, even within the same tribe. In the North Andaman *Biliku* is regarded as female, and is called *Mimi Biliku*, while *Tarai* is male and is called *Maia Tarai*. This is so in all the four tribes, *Aka-Čari*, *Aka-Bo*, *Aka-Kǫra* and *Aka-J̌eru*. A statement that is frequently made by the natives of these tribes is that *Tarai* and *Biliku* are husband and wife. While this is the most common statement, there are, however, other versions of the matter. In order to show the lack of uniformity in statements about *Biliku* and *Tarai* in the Northern tribes I reproduce a few extracts from my note-books written down exactly as they were given to me.

(1) *Biliku* is the wife of *Tarai* and they have a child named *Perǰido*. (This statement was made to me a great many times in the North Andaman, and may be regarded as the most usual form of the belief.)

(2) *Biliku* is the wife of *Tarai*. Their children are the sun and moon. (Heard only once.)

(3) The husband of *Biliku* is *Perǰido* and her children are *Totaimo*, *Mite* (cicada) and *Tarai*.

(4) *Biliku* is unmarried, but she has a son *Perǰido*, and her other children are *Tǫrǫi*, *Čelene*, *Čotǫt*, and *Čerei*. These four are the names of birds.

(5) *Biliku* is the wife of *Tarai*. Their children are *Tǫrǫi*, *Taka*, *Čotǫt*, *Poruatǫko*, *Kelil*, *Cǫpcura*, *Benye*, *Biratkoro*, *Čereo*, *Milidu*, *Bobelo*, *Kǫlo*. These are all names of birds.

(6) *Biliku* has a husband *Tǫrǫi* (a bird). *Tarai* has a wife *Kelil* (a bird).

In the *Aka-Kede* tribe the most common statement, at any rate in the northern part of the tribe, is that *Bilika* is female, and that *Tarai* is male. One *Aka-Kede* man, from the southern part of the tribe said that *Bilika* was male.

In the *Aka-Kǫl* and *A-Pučikwar* tribes *Bilik* is generally spoken of as being male, and *Teriya* is also male. Other versions from these tribes are as follows:—

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2



776
821

(1) *Bilik* is female and *Teriya* is her husband. Their children are the winds, *Čoliatum Bilik*, *Mętepur Bilik*, and *Wǫičo-l'arpat Bilik*.

(2) There is a male *Bilik* and a female *Bilik*, who are husband and wife. Their children are *Kǫičǫr-tǫŋ Bilik*, *Kǫičo Bilik*, *Jila Bilik*, *Mętepur Bilik*, *Rartear Bilik*, and *Teriya*. These are the winds.

(3) *Bilik* is male. His wife is *In Čaria*, and their children are *Kao* (prawn) and *Mǫrua* (the sky).

In the *Akar-Bale* tribe the most usual statement is that both *Puluga* and *Daria* are male, and this was apparently also the common belief of the *Aka-Bea*.

In the North Andaman the name *Biliku* is also the word for "spider," but no meaning (save as the name of the mythical being) was discovered for the name *Tarai*. In the South and Middle Andaman no meaning was discovered, either for the name *Bilik* or *Puluga*, or for the name *Teriya* or *Deria*. Although this book does not deal with the Little Andaman, it is worth while to mention that there also the natives believe in a mythical person who lives in the north-east and sends the storms. This being is female and is named *Öluga*. The monitor lizard is also called *öluga* in the language of the Little Andaman. It is obvious, however, that the names *Biliku*, *Puluga*, *Öluga* are all of them different forms of the same word.

As we have already seen, it is *Biliku* and *Tarai* who send the winds. *Tarai* sends the south-west wind, which brings the rain. *Biliku* sends the other winds which bring either fine weather, or, at times, violent storms. One *Akar-Bale* account of the matter (literally translated as told to me) is as follows. "Once upon a time *Puluga* and *Daria* were great friends, but they quarrelled. *Puluga* said that he was the bigger (more important). *Daria* said that he was. So now they are always quarrelling. *Puluga* sends the wind for one period. Then *Daria* sends his wind."

According to the statement of an *Akar-Bale* man, *Puluga* makes the wind by fanning with a very large *kwar-tǫŋ* leaf.

Rain and thunder and lightning that come with the south-west wind are believed to be due to *Tarai*. Storms that come

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2



776 821 during the season connected with *Biliku* are made by *Biliku* and are due to her anger. When a big storm comes the natives say "*Biliku* is angry." Lightning is explained as being a fire-brand thrown by *Biliku* across the sky when she is angry, and thunder is said to be her voice growling. Another explanation of lightning is that it is a pearl-shell, called *be* in the North Andaman, thrown by *Biliku*, the bright flash of the mother-of-pearl being seen as it crosses the sky. Still another statement from the North Andaman is that *Biliku* makes the lightning by striking a pearl-shell (*be*) against a stone.

Although *Biliku* is generally mentioned when a native is asked about lightning, yet *Tarai* also wields the lightning and the thunder. On one occasion when I was talking to a native I referred to the thunder and lightning that were at the moment coming up from the south-west, making a remark to the effect that *Biliku* was getting angry about something, and was corrected by him with "No, that is *Tarai*."

776 821 784 There are a certain number of actions that are believed by the natives to arouse the anger of *Biliku* (*Puluga*), and thereby cause storms. There are three of these that are of importance.

(1) Burning or melting bees'-wax.

(2) Killing a cicada, or making a noise, particularly a noise of cutting or banging wood, during the time that the cicada is "singing" in the morning and evening.

(3) The use of certain articles of food, of which the chief are the seeds of the *Entada scandens*, the pith of the *Caryota sobolifera*, two species of *Dioscorea* (yam), and certain edible roots, of which may be mentioned those called in *Aka-Jeru labo*, *mikulu*, *ji* and *loito*.

In this matter there is an entire unanimity of belief in all the tribes of the Great Andaman. All the natives agree in saying that any of these three actions causes the anger of *Biliku* or *Puluga* and so brings bad weather.

The natives do, as a matter of fact, melt all the bees'-wax they obtain, in order to purify it, and render it suitable for use in the various ways in which they employ it. Also they do make use of all the plants mentioned under (3) whenever they are in season. They give various explanations of this variance

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2



776
784
821

between their precepts and their actions. Some of my informants said that though these actions may bring rain and storms, yet they would rather submit to the bad weather than go without some of their most prized vegetable foods. Others again say that there is always a chance that *Biliku* may not notice that the plants have been disturbed, particularly if no fragments are left lying about the camp, and if, when taking the roots, the creepers are not disturbed. Another statement is that it is really only during the season of storms, called the *Kimil* season in *Aka-Jeru*, that it is dangerous to eat these foods, that is, during the months of October and November. After this season has passed there is no longer any danger of violent storms and the foods in question may be freely eaten. Nevertheless the natives do eat these foods in the months of October and November.

Mr Man records the native beliefs about bees'-wax and the plants in question. "There is an idea current that if during the first half of the rainy season they eat the *Caryota sobolifera*, or pluck or eat the seeds of the *Entada pursætha*, or gather yams or other edible roots, another deluge would be the consequence, for *Puluga* is supposed to require these for his own consumption at that period of the year; the restriction, however does not extend to the fallen seeds of the *Entada pursætha*, which may be collected and eaten at any time with impunity. Another of the offences visited by *Puluga* with storms is the burning of bee's wax, the smell of which is said to be peculiarly obnoxious to him. Owing to this belief it is a common practice secretly to burn wax when a person against whom they bear ill-will is engaged in fishing, hunting, or the like, the object being to spoil his sport and cause him as much discomfort as possible; hence arises the saying amongst them, when suddenly overtaken by a storm, that some one must be burning wax[1]."

It must be noted that it is not only the "burning," but also the melting of bees'-wax that angers *Puluga*. As regards the plants mentioned by Mr Man none of these is available for food during the early part of the rainy season. At that time the yams are not formed, the pith of the *Caryota* palm is not ripe

[1] Man, *op. cit.* pp. 153, 154.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2



776 784 821

and is uneatable, and the only available seeds of the *Entada* would be those of the last season that had not fallen from the pods or that had lain on the ground without having germinated. Thus the prohibition as stated by Mr Man amounts to nothing. The subject will be discussed in a later chapter. It may be remarked, however, that it is a fact easily to be observed that the natives do regard the gathering of these vegetable foods during the later portion of the rainy season and during the first part of the cool season (i.e. from October to December), as being an action that may offend *Biliku*. I was myself able to observe this on several occasions, as when once, at the very end of the rainy season, I, not then knowing the belief, asked a native to cut for me one of the pods of the *Entada* as a botanical specimen, whereupon the native, after fulfilling my request, explained to me that there would probably be a storm next day as the result of our action.

In all the tribes of the Great Andaman I found a belief that *Biliku* or *Puluga* will be angry if anybody makes a noise, particularly a noise of chopping, breaking or banging wood, during the time the cicada is singing. The cicada "sings" as the natives call it, during the short interval between dawn and sunrise, and during that between sunset and darkness. It is at these times that no noise may be made. The Andamanese do observe this custom, and refrain from making any noise at such times. For instance, if a man were singing, he would cease until the cicada were silent again. In all the tribes I found that this prohibition was connected in the minds of the natives with *Puluga*, the reason of the custom being always explained to me by saying that any breach of it would infallibly bring bad weather. In the North Andaman the cicada (*mite*) is commonly spoken of as the "child" of *Biliku, Biliku ot-tire.*

Mr Man refers to this custom. In one place he says that the first parents of the Andamanese were told by *Puluga* "that, though they were to work in the wet months, they must not do so after sundown, because by doing so they would worry the *butu*, which are under *Puluga's* special protection. Any noise, such as working (*kopke*) with an adze, would cause the *butu's* head to ache, and that would be a serious matter. During the

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2



cold and dry seasons work may be carried on day and night, as the *ôutu* is then seldom seen, and cannot be disturbed[1]."

The *ôutu* here mentioned is the cicada. The prohibition is not, however, as Mr Man says, against working, but against making a noise. Nor does the prohibition against noise extend to the whole night, but only to the short interval between sunset and darkness, for it is during this interval that the cicada is singing. As soon as the cicada is silent you may make as much noise as you please.

Another reference by Mr Man to the same custom is as follows: "Between dawn and sunrise they will do no work, save what is noiseless, lest the sun should be offended and cause an eclipse, storm, or other misfortune to overtake them. If, therefore, they have occasion to start on a journey or hunting expedition at so early an hour, they proceed as quietly as possible, and refrain from the practice, observed at other times of the day, of testing the strength of their bow-strings, as the snapping noise caused thereby is one of those to which the sun objects[2]."

This is really the same prohibition as that already mentioned, against making a noise when the cicada is singing. The interesting point, which will be discussed in a later chapter, is that Mr Man's informant associated the prohibition not with *Puluga*, but with the sun. All the natives with whom I talked on the matter said that they would make no noise at such a time for fear of offending the cicada, and therefore *Puluga* or *Biliku*, and so bringing a storm.

As regards the prohibition against killing the cicada, this seems to refer only to the imago. So far as I was able to observe, the natives do carefully avoid killing the cicada in its full-grown form. On the other hand the grub of the cicada is regularly killed and eaten, being regarded as a delicacy. It is only eaten during the months of October and November.

In connection with the cicada, and with the weather, there is a rite which was described to me, but which I did not see performed. According to the account given of this rite, which is called "killing the cicada," its purpose is to produce fine weather. It takes place in December, at the end of the season

[1] Man, *op. cit.* p. 165. [2] *Ibid.* p. 153.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2



776 821 796 during which they eat the grub. When the time agreed upon for the performance of the ceremony arrives, all the members of the community are careful to be in the camp before sunset. As soon as the sun sets and the cicadæ begin their shrill cry, all the men, women and children present begin to make as much noise as they possibly can, by banging on the sounding-board, striking the ground with bamboos, beating pieces of wood together, or hammering on the sides of canoes, while at the same time shouting. They continue the noise, which entirely drowns that of the cicada, until after darkness has fallen. The rite may be performed, I believe, two or more times, on successive evenings. My informant explained the rite by saying that the natives have been eating the cicada, and the rite is intended to "kill" those that are left. After the rite the cicada disappears and is not seen or heard for some weeks, and there follow four months of fine weather with little rain.

776 821 784 The beliefs relating to bees'-wax, to the various edible roots, and to the cicada, are the same in all the Great Andaman tribes, and are by far the most important of those connected with *Biliku*. In the North Andaman *Biliku* is supposed to be angry if any one kills a *biliku* (spider) a *reo* (a species of insect making a noise like a cicada, during the daytime, which I often heard, but never saw), or a *čatlo* (a species of beetle). There is also a bird, which I was not able to identify, called *tọrọi*, which belongs to *Biliku* and may not be killed.

In the *A-Pučikwar* tribe it is said that two species of fish, called *unakoro* and *liwat* belong to *Bilik* and may not be killed. A mollusc, called *towa*, also belongs to *Bilik*, and is for that reason never eaten. A bird called *Bilik-ŋar-dala* (probably the same bird that is called *tọrọi* in the North Andaman) may not be killed.

In the *Akar-Bale* tribe I was told that two kinds of wood, *bukura* and *worago*, must not be used for firewood, for fear of offending *Puluga*, to whom they belong. *Bukura* is a species of *Diospyros* (ebony).

776 821 789 The only punishment that *Biliku* ever inflicts on human beings when she is angry with them for any reason, is to send violent storms. The way to stop a storm seems to be to frighten

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2



*Biliku*. One means of doing this is to throw the leaves of the *Mimusops littoralis* in the fire. These leaves explode with the heating of the juices and make a crackling or popping noise, which it is said that *Biliku* dislikes. I believe, however, that if any one were thus to burn *Mimusops* leaves during fine weather, it would be regarded as likely to cause a storm. The most efficacious means of stopping a storm is to do some of the things that *Biliku* most dislikes. To burn bees'-wax, or to go into the jungle and damage or destroy the creepers that belong to her, these are the heroic remedies against *Biliku's* anger.

The question of the Andamanese beliefs about storms is complicated by the fact that although all storms are said to be made by *Puluga* or *Biliku*, yet there is an alternative and contradictory belief that storms are made by the spirits of the sea (*Jurua*). It is said that if a piece of the *Anadendron paniculatum* creeper were to be burnt there would be a great cyclone, but this appears to be associated, not with *Biliku*, but with the spirits of the sea. It will be shown later that there is a special connection between the *Jurua* and this plant. The belief that a storm will arise if turtle fat be allowed to burn in the fire seems also to be connected with the *Jurua* and not with *Biliku*. The same is probably the case with a belief that rain will come if a *Ficus laccifera* tree be damaged.

Some of the methods used to stop storms are also probably connected with the spirits and not with *Biliku*. One such method is to go into the sea and swish arrows about in the water. One *oko-jumu* (medicine-man) of the North Andaman is reputed to have stopped a big cyclone by taking a few pieces of *Anadendron paniculatum* and crushing them, and then diving into the sea and placing the crushed creeper under a stone. An *oko-jumu* who died while I was in the islands is supposed to have been able to stop a storm by similarly placing leaves and twigs of the *Ficus laccifera* (*reŋko*) under a rock in the sea.

To complete the account of this part of the Andamanese beliefs it is necessary to quote what Mr Man writes about the tribes of the South Andaman. Mr Man describes *Puluga* as a "Supreme Being" and says that some of the beliefs of the Andamanese relating to him "approximate closely to the true

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2



have extraordinary powers. Hence a man who is an acknowledged *oko-jumu* is sure to receive a good share of the game caught by others, and presents of all kinds from those who seek his goodwill.

As the name implies, and in whatever way his power may have been obtained, an *oko-jumu* is privileged to dream in a way that less favoured persons do not. In his dreams he can communicate with the spirits of the dead. In dreams, also, so the natives say, he is able to cause the illness of an enemy or to cure that of a friend.

By his communication with the spirits, in dreams, or in waking life, the *oko-jumu* acquires magical knowledge that he is able to turn to account in curing illness and in preventing bad weather. When a person is ill the *oko-jumu* is often consulted as to the best means of treating the patient. His treatment is often limited to the recommendation, or the application, of some one or other of the recognized remedies. He may undertake to dispel the spirits that are supposed to be the cause of the disease, which he does by addressing them and conjuring them to go away, or by the use of one or other of the substances and objects that are believed to have the power of keeping spirits at a distance. Sometimes the *oko-jumu* will promise to cure the patient by means of dreams. It is believed that in his dreams he can communicate with the spirits and can persuade them to help him to cure the sick person.

Besides their power of causing or curing sickness, the *oko-jumu* are credited with being able to control the weather. As has been shown, the Andamanese believe that the weather is under the control of two beings named *Biliku* and *Tarai*. There is, however, an alternative and contradictory belief, which is also held, that the weather is controlled by the spirits, and particularly by those of the sea. The means taken by magicians or others to prevent bad weather can be divided into two kinds according as they are directed against *Biliku* or *Tarai*, or against the spirits of the sea. As an example of the very simple rites which are performed for this purpose, two cases may be quoted. One of the *oko-jumu* of the Northern tribes, now dead, once stopped a very violent storm by crushing between two stones

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2



a piece of the *Anadendron paniculatum* and diving with it into the sea where he placed it under a rock on the reef. A more recent example is very similar. A man still living, named *Jire Pilečar*, who was, in a way, the successor of the man formerly mentioned, is said to have stopped a violent storm by using the leaves and bark of the *Ficus laccifera* in the same way, that is by crushing them and placing them under a rock in the sea. In both these cases it would seem that the rite was directed not against *Biliku* and *Tarai*, but against the *Jurua*.

Apart from his power to communicate directly with the spirits, the *oko-jumu* owes his position to a superior knowledge of the magical properties of common substances and objects. This knowledge he is supposed to obtain from the spirits. However, a lesser degree of knowledge on such matters is possessed by everybody. Thus in the treatment of sickness there are a number of magical remedies of which anyone can make use without consulting an *oko-jumu*.

A complete enumeration of all the things that are believed to possess magical properties is, of course, not possible, but the following notes refer to all the most important.

We may consider first of all the magical properties of mineral substances. One of the most important of these is red ochre. Yellow ochre, which is found in pockets in many parts of the islands, is collected and burnt, when it turns red, and the powder so obtained is either used by itself or is made into a paint with pig or turtle fat. The powder is mixed with water and taken internally. Red paint is applied to the throat and chest for coughs and colds and sore throats, and round the ear for ear-ache. When a man feels unwell he often smears red paint on his upper lip just below his nostrils. In this way, the natives say, the "smell" of the paint cures his sickness. The paint is sometimes used as a dressing for wounds or centipede bites. Its use for ornamenting the body on ceremonial occasions has already been noted in the last chapter.

In the North Andaman a soft red stone is found, called *talar*. This is used as a substitute for red paint. It is rubbed on the body, or it is powdered and the powder is mixed with water and taken internally.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2



X 182

Thus the comparison of different versions confirms the interpretation here given. The legend expresses the negative social value of night as a period when social activity is diminished and the power of protection of the society therefore lessened. It does so by telling how the night first arose as the result of disobedience to a ritual prohibition, i.e., of meddling with the forces of nature. It traces the original cause yet further back to the anger of one of the ancestors, anger being itself a source of social disturbance. It passes on to express the social value of the dance, with its accompanying song, and exhibits the relation, within the system of social values, of dancing and darkness. Thus, although the manner of expression may differ, yet what is expressed is the same in both versions, and we are therefore justified in regarding this as the essential content of them.

X 182
● 821

An exactly parallel explanation can be given of the Andaman notions relating to the moon. The social value of moonlight is due to the fact that it enables the natives to fish and catch turtle and dugong by night. A clear moonlight night affords the best opportunity for harpooning dugong. During the second quarter the light of the moon steadily increases, and the period of moonlight falls in the first part of the night. After the change to the third quarter the light steadily diminishes, and moreover there is a gradually increasing period of complete darkness at the beginning of the night. The natives do not care to get up in the middle of the night to go fishing or hunting turtle. Therefore the second quarter is the time when they undertake such expeditions, and after the change to the third quarter they abandon them largely or entirely, and if they do go out they have to depend on torches. Therefore we may say that during the second quarter the moon gives valuable help to the natives, but during the third quarter withdraws that help.

At the beginning of the third quarter the moon rises in the evening with a ruddy hue. The natives explain this red and swollen appearance by saying that the moon is angry. When a man does something that hurts or damages another it is generally (in Andamanese life) because he is angry. So to say that the moon is angry is equivalent to saying that he is damaging or hurting someone, as he is indeed damaging the society by with-

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2



drawing the light by which for the past week or so they have been able to capture fish and turtle. The phenomena of the change of the moon in so far as they affect the social life are represented as if they were the actions of a human being. We may describe this briefly by saying that the moon is personified, using that term in a special sense to be defined more exactly later. Amongst the Andamanese, as amongst ourselves, anger is associated with heat, and this explains why the red glow of the moon when he rises during the first few nights of the third quarter is regarded as the visible sign of his anger.

Even the moon, however, is not to be expected to be angry without a cause. The natives say that the anger is due to some bright light having been visible at the time the moon rises. The personification is thus further elaborated. The moon gives the light by which fishing and turtle hunting at night are possible. This light has a positive social value, and its withdrawal is an evil. They therefore regard the moon as jealous, so jealous that if anyone makes use of an artificial light, as of a fire or torch or burning resin, the moon immediately is consumed with anger and withdraws the light that has been of so much use and has not been sufficiently appreciated. This belief is a means by which the value of the moonlight is recognized. Thus the beliefs about the moon can be interpreted in exactly the same way as the legend about night; both express, in accordance with the same psychological laws, the social values of natural phenomena.

I will next consider not a single legend but a number of different stories, running through all of which we can find a single major motive. I have recorded[1] three legends which relate, with some differences of detail, how in the beginning the ancestors had no fire, how fire was introduced by one of them, and how many of them, being burnt or frightened, were turned into animals of different kinds. In one version[2] the sea-eagle came into the camp of the ancestors and threw fire amongst them; whereby many of them being frightened were turned into animals. Another version is very similar, the chief actor, however, being the prawn[3]. In an *Akar-Bale* version *Dim-dori*, now

[1] Pages 207 and 204. [2] Page 207. [3] *Ibid.*

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2



violent storms (cyclones) are very rare. Between the rainy season proper and the cool season there is a period of six or eight weeks in which the weather is unsettled; the wind is variable; fine weather alternates with storms that are sometimes of terrific violence; waterspouts are frequent; it is at this season that violent cyclonic storms are likely to occur. This season is called by the Andamanese *Kimil* (*Gumul* of *Aka-Bea*). We have seen in the last chapter that the word *kimil* denotes a condition of social danger, or of contact with the power possessed by all things that can affect the life and safety of the society. It is obviously in this sense, and not as meaning "hot," that it is applied to the season in question, for the months of October and November are fairly cool, certainly very much cooler than February and March. We shall find that this is an important point in connection with the *Biliku* myth.

The life of the Andaman Islander is profoundly affected by the alternation of the seasons. There are, first of all, the violent cyclonic storms that occasionally occur. Such a storm may uproot the jungle for miles, making it impassable for years to come, and thus destroying some of the native hunting grounds. The wind is sometimes so violent as to tear every leaf from the trees in its path. While the storm lasts there is danger to the lives of the natives. An old man recounted to me how on the occasion of a violent cyclone he and the others of his village took refuge in the sea and on the open shore from the danger of falling trees, and remained there till the violence of the storm had abated. The usual name for a cyclone in *Aka-Jeru* is *ṭoko-poṛ*, i.e. "falling wood" or "falling trees." Even if all the natives escape the danger of death or injury, there is still the extreme fear and discomfort of the experience. If a storm lasts for any length of time the natives, who are unable or afraid to go out hunting, have to do without food until it is over. Incidentally the storm may destroy their huts, canoes, and other property and thus cause loss that has to be made up by toil.

The second important effect of the seasons on the life of the Andamanese is through the food supply. During the cool season, and the succeeding hot season, a number of vegetable foods, including the very important roots and some of the most

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2



prized fruits, are available. On the other hand, during these seasons the land animals are in poor condition. In the hot season, at any rate, lizards, snakes and the civet-cat are not eaten. Pigs are breeding and are in such poor condition that often a pig that has been killed is left in the jungle as being not good enough to eat. The hot season is pre-eminently the season of honey, which is so abundant that the natives are able to obtain much more than they can consume. In the rainy season there are few vegetable foods and very little honey, but on the other hand the jungle animals are in good condition and flesh food is abundant; fish are more plentiful in this season than during the dry weather. In the *Kimil* season (October and November) the natives add to their food supply two varieties of grub (the larvæ of the cicada and of a beetle) which are regarded as great delicacies. Roughly we can say that the rainy season is the season of flesh food, the *Kimil* season is the season of grubs, the cool season is the season of fruits and roots, and the hot season is the season of honey.

By reference to the prevailing wind the year may be divided into two parts, the N.E. monsoon from November to May, and the S.W. monsoon from May to November.

I propose to show that the Andaman Islanders express the social value of the phenomena of the weather and the seasons, i.e., the way these phenomena affect the social life and the social sentiments, by means of legends and beliefs relating to the two mythical beings whom they call *Biliku* and *Tarai*. Using the word personification in a sense to be defined later in the chapter, we may say that the Andamanese personify the weather and the seasons in the persons of *Biliku* and *Tarai*. *Biliku* is associated with the N.E. monsoon; she lives in the N.E.; the wind from that quarter is called "the *Biliku* wind"; to *Biliku*, therefore, belong the cool and the hot seasons, these being the seasons of the N.E. monsoon. *Tarai* is associated with the S.W. monsoon; he lives in the S.W.; the wind from that quarter is called "the *Tarai* wind," or, in *Aka-Bea*, simply *Deria*; to *Tarai* therefore belongs the rainy season. It is possible to show that the Andaman Islanders associate with these two beings all the phenomena of the weather and the seasons, and are able to

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

X 182
821
776



represent the changes of the latter as though they were the actions of human or anthropomorphic beings.

In the mass of beliefs and stories relating to *Biliku* and *Tarai* there are some elements on which there is absolute agreement in all the tribes of the Great Andaman Division. I propose to treat these as being the most important elements. There is absolute unanimity, for instance, as to the connection of *Biliku* and *Tarai* with the N.E. and the S.W. respectively, and with the winds that blow from these two points of the compass. Further, this belief does not conflict in any way with any other belief of the Andamanese. There is similar unanimity in the beliefs that *Biliku* is angry at the digging up of yams, and at the melting of bees'-wax. There are other matters on which the agreement is fairly general but not absolute. For instance, there is a common belief that it was *Biliku* who first discovered fire, but there are also legends as to the origin of fire in which *Biliku* does not figure. I propose to treat such elements as these as being of secondary importance. Finally there are other elements with regard to which the beliefs of different tribes are not in agreement. For instance, in the South Andaman *Puluga* is regarded as male, while in the North Andaman *Biliku* is female. I propose to regard such elements as being of only minor importance, i.e., as not being closely connected with the central notion or notions expressed in the myth.

Applying the strict method outlined above, we may begin by noting that there is complete unanimity in regard to the connection of *Biliku* and *Tarai* with the N.E. and the S.W. respectively, and therefore with the monsoons. No interpretation of the myth can be adequate unless it sets out from this fact. The connection is so firmly fixed that it appears in the names of the winds themselves[1]. Even in this matter of the winds, however, there is a slight difference in the detail of the beliefs in different tribes. In the North Andaman it would seem that only the two principal winds are recognized: the S.W. wind (more accurately W.S.W.) is called "the *Tarai*

[1] It appears also in geographical names. *Puluga-Tar-mugu*, meaning 'the Puluga front' is the name of a part of the Archipelago facing the N.E. and means 'the side facing Puluga.'

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2



182X
821
776

wind" (not, be it noted, "the wind of *Tarai*"); the N.E. (or more accurately N.N.E.) wind is called "the *Biliku* wind." These two winds are by far the most important, as the former blows steadily throughout the rainy season and the latter blows with almost equal steadiness throughout a good part of the cool and hot seasons. In the *Aka-Bea* and *Akar-Bale* tribes the general belief seems to be precisely the same as in the North Andaman. Only the two principal winds are considered to be of importance and one is associated with *Deria* and the other with *Puluga*. In these two tribes, as in the North Andaman, practically no notice is taken of the existence of winds from other quarters. In the *A-Pučikwar* tribe there is a notable difference, of great importance to the true interpretation of the legend. There is a dual division of the winds; the S.W. wind is called *Teria*; the other winds (of which a number are recognized) are all called *Bilik*. Thus *Bilik* is a generic name for a number of winds, namely for all the northerly or easterly winds, including not only the N.E., but also the N.W. and S.E. winds. The S.W. wind is called by a simple name, *Teria*, or as it would be better rendered in English "the *Teria*." The other winds are called by compound names such as *Metepur Bilik*, *Koičo Bilik*, etc., which we can only translate as "the N.E. *Bilik*," "the East *Bilik*," etc.

Two things of importance are shown by the consideration of these facts. The first is that there is a sense in which it may be said that the Andaman Islanders personify the winds in the persons of *Biliku* and *Tarai*; they apply to the natural phenomenon a name which is also the name of a mythological person, and they apply it directly and not in a possessive form, i.e., they say "the *Bilik*" or "the *Biliku* wind" and not "*Biliku's* wind." The second is that only the S.W. wind is associated with *Tarai* and all the other winds are associated with *Biliku*.

The last point is one of considerable importance in the interpretation of the myth. If we divide the year by reference to the prevailing winds, then the rainy season, with the exception of its beginning and its end, belongs to the S.W. wind; the hot season (save its end) and the cool season may be regarded as belonging to the N.E. wind, though the wind may be variable in the hot season; there remain two portions of the year, at the

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2



X 182
●821
776

change of the monsoon, when the wind is variable, which cannot be classified as belonging strictly to the S.W. or to the N.E. wind. The fact that all these variable winds are denoted in the *A-Pučikwar* tribe by the name *Bilik* shows that in this tribe they are all classified with the N.E. wind. In this way the year is divided into two slightly unequal parts, one belonging to *Teria* or *Tarai* including the whole of the rainy season except the end and the very beginning, the other belonging to *Bilik* (*Biliku*) including the *Kimil* season, the cool season, the hot season, and even the first few days of the rainy season. This strict division only appears in the *A-Pučikwar* tribe, but it will be shown that an approximation to the same notion is found in the other tribes.

There is general agreement in all the tribes in the belief that storms are due to *Biliku* or *Tarai*. Both of them send rain and thunder and lightning, but whenever mention is made in the legends of a violent storm it is always *Biliku* who is mentioned as causing it, and never by any chance *Tarai*. Thus, in regard to this matter of storms, it is evident that *Biliku* is more important than *Tarai*, and this is only one example of the preponderance of *Biliku* over her consort. This preponderance will need to be explained as one of the essentials of the myth[1].

We have already seen how the Andaman Islander represents any natural phenomenon having negative social value as though it were the result of the action of a person in anger, this being the one anti-social passion with which he is most familiar in his own life. Thus the withdrawing of the light of the moon after the full is explained as being due to the anger of the moon. The negative social value of a violent storm is obvious. In accordance with the general principles of his mythology the Andaman Islander therefore explains the storm as being due to the anger of a personal mythical being. But storms are intimately connected with the winds, so that it must be *Biliku* and *Tarai* (in whom the winds are personified) who are responsible for the storms. Further, in the Andamans, violent storms are very rare except at two special periods of the year, at the

[1] Although it is generally believed that storms (or more exactly, violent storms or cyclones) are the results of the anger of *Biliku*, yet there is a conflicting belief that storms are made by the spirits, particularly the spirits of the sea.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2



182 X
821 •
776

change of the monsoon. This gives a further ground of association with *Biliku* and *Tarai* between whom the seasons are divided. We have seen that in classifying the winds the natives (of one tribe at any rate) associate with *Tarai* only the steady S.W. wind which brings not cyclones and violent storms but steady rain, while all the other winds are associated with *Biliku*. If this be so it is clear that a cyclone, with its wind veering from one quarter to another, must be the work of *Biliku*. Further, if the *Biliku* season be regarded as including all the periods of variable northerly and easterly winds as well as the period of the steady N.E., then we can say that it is only in the *Biliku* period that violent storms are likely to occur. It is evident therefore that an examination of the natural phenomena themselves gives us an adequate reason for the preponderance of *Biliku* over *Tarai* in the legends. This will be made even more evident as we proceed.

Another law of the Andaman mythology is that a person, such as the moon, is never angry without cause. There are a number of actions that are believed by the Andamanese to cause the anger of *Biliku*; of these there are three of extreme importance, all the others being certainly of much less importance. It is necessary, therefore, to examine these three carefully and find their meaning.

There is absolute agreement in all the tribes with regard to the belief that *Biliku* is angry and sends bad weather when bees'-wax is melted or burnt. The season of honey is the hot season from February to May. During the rainy season scarcely any honey is to be found and that only of the inferior (black) variety. It is clear therefore that honey belongs particularly to the *Biliku* portion of the year. During the hot season honey is abundant and large quantities are collected. As the natives make use of the wax, and as this is useless till it has been melted, this is the special season of the melting of bees'-wax. At the beginning of the season the *Biliku* wind blows calmly from the N.N.E. As the season draws to a close the wind becomes variable, uncertain, and in some years violent storms occur ushering in the rains of the S.W. monsoon. Year after year the wax-melting season comes to a close in stormy weather.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2



X 182
•821
776

Now stormy weather and the anger of *Biliku* are, for the Andaman Islander, one and the same thing, so that to say that the anger of *Biliku* follows the melting of bees'-wax is in one sense simply a statement of actual observable fact.

Another belief about which there is absolute unanimity in all parts of the Islands is that *Biliku* is angry when certain plants are cut down or dug up. These plants include some of the most valuable vegetable foods of the Andamanese, such as the yams and the pith of the *Caryota* palm. Amongst the roots and fruits associated with *Biliku* there are one or two that were not botanically identified. All of them, however, about which I was able to obtain any information whatever, are available as food during the cool and hot seasons, and either not at all or in very small quantities during the rainy season. On the other hand, of the vegetable foods that are available during the rainy season, not one is ever mentioned as being in any way connected with *Biliku*. Further, amongst all the foods of the cool and hot seasons only those are intimately connected with *Biliku* which begin to be available during the *Kimil* season. A few examples may be mentioned. The yams and other edible roots are not found at all in the rainy season, but the tubers begin to form in the *Kimil* season (October and November) and small quantities of these roots are available for food at that time. By the time the cool season has set in the roots become abundant, and they continue to be found until well on into the hot season. All these roots are regarded as being specially connected with *Biliku* and are spoken of as her foods. The same thing applies to the *Caryota sobolifera* of which the pith is eaten either raw or cooked. The pith begins to form in the *Kimil* season, and this highly prized food is available right through the cool season. The fruit of the *Cycas*, which is another of those belonging to *Biliku*, also begins to ripen at the beginning of the cool weather. As regards the *Entada scandens*, Kurz, in his *Burmese Flora*, mentions it as seeding in the "cold season." I neglected to take note of the relation of this plant to the seasons, but the statement of Kurz may be relied on. Thus it is seen that the vegetable foods that are associated with *Biliku* are those that begin to be available for food during the *Kimil* season and are

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2



182X
821●
776

abundant during the cool season. Now the *Kimil* season, which is really the opening of the N.E. or *Biliku* monsoon, is the season at which cyclonic storms are likely to occur. Here again therefore, as in the case of bees'-wax, there is a definite ground of association in familiar natural phenomena. Year after year, as these foods begin to ripen and to be eaten, the islands are visited with stormy weather, sometimes of exceptional violence. When the Andaman Islander says that the stormy weather which is the sign of the anger of *Biliku* follows the digging up of yams and the cutting down of the *Caryota* palm or the gathering of the seeds of the *Cycas* or *Entada*, he is stating what is an actual fact.

The case of these vegetable foods is in one way different from that of bees'-wax. The melting of the wax goes on for some weeks before the anger of *Biliku* is finally aroused, when storms come to punish the offenders, and the change of season cuts short the supply of honey. In the case of the roots, etc., it would seem that it is only the first step that counts. The danger lies in the beginning of the season. Once the anger of *Biliku* has burst forth the bad weather ceases, the danger is past, and weeks of fine weather ensue, during which the natives may eat freely of the foods in question without fear of consequences. In this connection considerable importance may be attached to a statement made to me on more than one occasion, to the effect that the most efficient way of stopping a storm is to go into the forest and destroy the plants that belong to *Biliku*, i.e., do the very things that make her angry. We may apply this to the events of the *Kimil* season. The natives begin to dig up yams and collect other vegetable foods, and thereupon *Biliku* becomes angry and stormy weather follows. All that the natives have to do is to show sufficient persistence in continuing to eat yams, etc., and the anger of *Biliku* is bound to subside and the stormy weather to cease.

There is a third belief that is generally accepted in all parts of the Great Andaman, that *Biliku* is angry if a cicada be killed, or if a noise be made while the cicada is singing in the morning or the evening. The interpretation of this belief is made difficult by the fact that there is also an association between the cicada and the day and night. Thus Mr Man states that the prohibition

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2



X182
●821
776

against making a noise at dawn (while the cicada is singing) is associated not with *Puluga* but with the sun[1].

The grub of the cicada is eaten during the *Kimil* season, and at no other time of the year. Here the association is simple enough. The killing of the cicada (grub) takes place only during a brief season, and this is the season when cyclones occur. However, the grub of a beetle is eaten at the same season and yet I never heard of any connection between *Biliku* and this other grub. Certainly if there is a belief in such a connection it is very much less important than the belief relating to the cicada. Further, there is the belief that if the imago of the cicada be killed or if a noise be made while the cicada is singing, *Biliku* will be angry and will send bad weather, which is obviously not simply the result of the custom of eating the grub of the cicada during the *Kimil* season.

The relation of the cicada to *Biliku* is almost certainly due to the connection of the insect with the seasons. Unfortunately, not then recognizing the importance of the matter, I did not, while in the Andamans, take particular note of the relation of the life-cycle of the cicada to the revolution of the seasons, and I am reluctant to trust to vague memories of matters to which I did not pay special attention. Mr Man states, apparently on the authority of a native, that during the cold and dry seasons the cicada is seldom seen (and is therefore presumably also seldom heard). What I believe to be the life-cycle of the insect is as follows. During the rainy season only the adult insects are to be found. They lay their eggs at some period during the rainy season, possibly towards the end. In October and November the eggs have developed into pupæ, and it is these that the natives eat: but apparently the adult insects, or some of them, still survive at this time and are to be seen and heard. By about December the last of the adult insects die out and the grubs have not yet attained the adult form, so that there is a period during which no adult insects are either seen or heard. It is probable that the new generation makes its first appearance in adult form as soon as the first rains of the rainy season begin.

[1] Page 154.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2



182 X
821 •
776

The essential point, on which we can base an interpretation of the myth, is that the cicada is not seen or heard during the fine weather (December to March). It probably, as stated above, makes its reappearance just at the period of the stormy weather that ushers in the rainy season. Similarly, it does not disappear until after the end of the stormy period of the *Kimil* season. (I have certainly heard and seen the insect in October, and to the best of my recollection in November also.) Thus the cicada is definitely associated with the part of the year including the rainy season and the two stormy periods at its beginning and end. I believe that this is the fundamental fact that explains the Andamanese beliefs about the connection of the insect with the weather.

I was told of a ceremony that was held at the end of the *Kimil* season in the *Akar-Bale* tribe (and possibly in other tribes also) the purpose of which was said to be to ensure fine weather for some months and which is called "Killing the cicada." The ceremony consists of doing the very thing that is believed to produce storms, viz., making a noise while the cicada is singing in the evening. As soon as the cicadæ begin to sing all the persons in camp make as much noise as they can by banging bamboos on the ground, striking the sounding-board, or hammering on the sides of canoes, thus making just the kinds of noise that are said to be most disliked by the cicada. According to the statement of my informant this ceremony results in "killing" all the cicadæ so that they are not heard again for many weeks, and while this silence lasts fine weather is assured. The meaning of this little ceremony is plain when we recall the fact that though the digging up of yams and the cutting down of the *Caryota* palm anger *Biliku* and result in storms yet sufficient persistence in these actions, and therefore in any others that are displeasing to *Biliku*, results in dispelling the bad weather. Thus it is seen that although the matter is a little more complicated, yet the belief in the connection of the cicada with *Biliku* and with bad weather can be explained on exactly the same lines as the beliefs about bees'-wax and vegetable foods. The fact that the same explanation can be given of the three most important prohibitions connected

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2



X 182
• 821
776

with *Biliku* gives a high degree of probability to the interpretation here offered. These three beliefs are the only ones of real importance. I am unable to explain the connection of *Biliku* with the species of fish, the bird and the two kinds of wood mentioned on page 156. In the North Andaman there is a definite association between *Biliku* and spiders, the generic name for "spider" being *biliku*. I believe that this could be explained on the same basis as the connection with the cicada, i.e., through the connection of spiders with the changes of the seasons, but as I unfortunately neglected to take note of the habits of the spiders of the Andamans I cannot speak with any certainty and therefore prefer not to enter into a discussion of the subject[1].

The explanation that I have to offer of these beliefs relating to *Biliku* and to the things that offend her is that they are simply the statement in a special form of observable facts of nature. The rainy season comes to an end, the wind becomes variable, yams and other vegetable products begin to ripen and are used for food, and stormy weather comes, some years bringing cyclones of exceptional violence. Then follows a period of steady N.E. winds with fine weather and abundance of vegetable foods, during which the noise of the cicada is not to be heard. Then comes the honey season, when everyone is busy collecting honey and melting bees'-wax. The wind becomes very variable, storms come, the fine weather comes to an end and the rainy season begins again. These facts affect the feelings of the Andaman Islander and he expresses his impressions by regarding all these happenings as if they were the actions of an anthropomorphic being. The vegetable products, the cicada, and the honey all belong to *Biliku*. When the yams are dug up she is angry, or in other words, storms occur; a storm

[1] The application of the name *biliku* to the spider is clearly a minor motive, and probably a late accretion. The name of the N.E. monsoon is the same in all the divisions of the Andamans about which we have information, with dialectic differences only. In the Little Andaman the form of the name is *Öluga*, and the same name is given to the monitor lizard. Presumably, therefore, there was originally one name throughout the Andamans for the N.E. monsoon (*Öluga*, *Puluga*, *Bilik*, *Bilika*, *Biliku*) and later this name was applied to the spider in the North Andaman and to the monitor lizard in the Little Andaman. It may be noted that the name of the monitor lizard varies from one language to another in the Great Andaman.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2



182 X
821 •
776

*is* the anger of *Biliku*. The cessation of the song of the cicada removes one of the possible causes of the anger of *Biliku*, and therefore marks the period of fine weather. That anger appears once more when the natives busy themselves with melting bees'-wax.

It may be noted that these beliefs about *Biliku* give an expression of the social value of honey and bees'-wax and of vegetable foods such as yams. The Andaman Islands provide few fruits containing natural sugar. Yet the natives are inordinately fond of sweet things; they greatly enjoy the sugar that they now obtain from the Settlement of Port Blair. Honey, which was almost their only sweet food in former times, was therefore very greatly valued. Apart from the yams and other foods associated with *Biliku* there are very few productions of the Andamans containing starch in a palatable form. To the native who has been living during the rainy season almost entirely on meat and fish, the starchy foods of the stormy season (yams, *Caryota*, etc.) are of great value, and they are very highly prized. Thus the foods associated with *Biliku* all have a high value.

We all know how the value of an object is increased if, in order to obtain it, we have to make some considerable effort or sacrifice, or put ourselves in danger of some evil. Reversing this mental process, the Andaman Islander expresses his sense of the value of honey and yams by the statement that to obtain them he must be prepared to risk the anger of *Biliku* with its results. It was shown in the last chapter that the value of food in general is expressed in the belief that all food is more or less dangerous to eat, and that ritual precautions must be observed if the danger is to be avoided. Here in the *Biliku* myth, we have a further example of the same sort of mental process, in relation not to all foods in general but to a few foods of special value. Yet another example may be given. Roast pork is highly relished by the natives, and they believe that the roasting of pork offends certain spirits of the sky and is therefore dangerous[1].

[1] It is to be noted that these tabus connected with *Biliku* are not absolute prohibitions; they are beliefs that if certain things are done *Biliku* will be angry (i.e., there may be storms); if you do these things you must risk the danger. It is exactly the same with the roasting of pork.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2



X 182
●821
776

Returning now to the subject of *Biliku* as the sender of cyclones, it is necessary for the argument, even at the risk of repetition, to show (1) that this is by far the most important attribute of *Biliku*, and (2) that it follows immediately from her connection with the N.E. monsoon.

Taking the second point first, we may note, in the first place, that while *Tarai* is associated with the steady S.W. wind which blows with very little variation for months at a time, *Biliku* is associated with the variable winds of the hot season. Now a characteristic of a cyclonic storm is the way in which the wind

The line represents the position of the Andaman Islands. The larger arrows show the direction in which the cyclonic disturbance is moving. The smaller arrows show the direction of the wind.

veers from one quarter to another. Further, as most of the cyclones that cross the Andamans travel from the south-east in a north-westerly direction, and the movement of the cyclone is in a counter-clockwise direction, the first wind of a cyclonic storm when it strikes the islands comes from the north-east. This may be seen from the accompanying diagram. It is only at the very end of the storm, when the storm centre has passed, that the wind blows from the south-west. Thus it is clear that the association of cyclones with *Biliku* and not with *Tarai* is determined by the nature of the phenomena which the *Biliku-Tarai* myth sets out to explain.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2



That the most important attribute of *Biliku* is her connection with the cyclones is evident when we consider the legends in which she is mentioned. In most of the legends in which her name occurs[1] she is spoken of as being angry with the ancestors, and we know that a cyclone and the anger of *Biliku* are, for the Andaman Islander, one and the same thing. In some of the stories mention is made of a great storm that *Biliku* sent which nearly destroyed the world. All through the legends we find her pictured as a being whose anger is to be feared, who has the power to destroy human life and human property. *Tarai* is never mentioned in this way, for the rains of the south-west monsoon themselves have no such power.

We are now in a position to compare the characters of *Biliku* and *Tarai* and explain their relative positions in the myth. The reason for the preponderance of *Biliku* lies in the fact that it is she who sends cyclones, while *Tarai* sends nothing more than heavy showers of rain. *Tarai* is never responsible for the destruction of life and property, whereas *Biliku* is. Thus the preponderance of *Biliku* follows from the essentials of the myth. Secondly, *Tarai* is constant, ever the same, whereas *Biliku* is changeable. The rainy season of one year is exactly like that of another, and during the time it lasts the weather is consistent throughout. On the contrary, one year the *Biliku* season brings a terrific storm, and another year it is much less violent, while, from day to day during certain parts of the *Biliku* season the weather is unsettled, so that you cannot tell what the morrow will bring with it. It is obvious that this uncertainty about the actions of *Biliku*, the fact that she cannot altogether be reckoned with, would tend to make her of greater importance in the eyes of the Andamanese than her consort *Tarai*.

Let us now consider the question of the sex of *Biliku*. On this matter there is a lack of agreement. In the North Andaman *Tarai* is declared to be male and *Biliku* female. It can readily be shown that this results from the position of *Biliku* and *Tarai*

[1] See, for instance, the Aka-Jeru legend on pages 197—198, the Aka-Kede on page 200 and that from the Akar-Bale tribe on pages 200—201, and also the legends on pages 207, 208.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2



X182
•821
776

as regulating the seasons. *Tarai* rules over the rainy season, in which the chief food is the flesh of animals of the land and of the sea; it is the business of men to provide flesh-food. On the contrary *Biliku* rules over the seasons in which the chief foods are vegetable products of different kinds; it is the business of women to provide such foods. It is only men who go out hunting for pigs or turtle or who harpoon or shoot fish, and it is always the men who attend to the first part of the cooking of pig, turtle and dugong; it is the women who dig up the yams and collect the fruits and seeds, and it is the women also who cook them. There is a very real sense, then, in which flesh foods may be called the foods of men, and vegetable foods may be called the foods of women, and, since flesh foods are the foods of *Tarai* and vegetable foods are the foods of *Biliku*, there is a sound reason for calling *Tarai* male and *Biliku* female.

This way of thinking of *Biliku* as female is in harmony with her character as outlined above. Women (in the Andamans) are notoriously uncertain, changeable creatures. You can always reckon fairly well what a man will do, but not so with a woman. Moreover, when the Andaman Islander wishes to picture to himself a pair of closely associated beings, it is natural that he should compare them to the most closely associated couple with which he is familiar,—husband and wife. This tendency leads him to make the sun and moon man and wife in many of his legends, and it may well be expected to have its influence on the *Biliku* myth also.

In the South Andaman however, both *Puluga* and *Daria* are said to be male. It can be shown that this view is also appropriate in its way. The *Akar-Bale* say that *Puluga* and *Daria* were once friends, but have quarrelled and now live at opposite ends of the earth and are perpetually renewing their quarrel. *Daria* has things to himself for a few months (the S.W. monsoon) and sends his wind; then *Puluga* makes an attack on him; some weeks of unsettled weather ensue while they are fighting, until *Daria* is beaten and *Puluga* takes over the control of the weather and sends the N.E. wind. By and by, however, *Daria* shows himself again and there is another quarrel, with its unsettled and stormy weather, which ends in the

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2



182 K
521 •
776

defeat of *Puluga* and the reinstatement for a period of *Daria*. Even the bald language in which it is stated does not quite hide the poetical grandeur of this conception of the world as the arena of two battling giants in a never-ending quarrel. Those who have lived through a tropical cyclone with its wind changing from one quarter to another, its consummate violence, its sudden onslaught, its pause (that is felt to be merely a pause) as the centre of the disturbance reaches and passes you, and then its sudden renewal of the mad combat with the wind coming now from the opposite quarter, cannot but recognize in the *Akar-Bale* myth a successful attempt to describe such a storm in figurative language.

Such a combat could only be pictured by the Andamanese as taking place between two men, and the myth in this form therefore necessarily involves the belief that both *Puluga* and *Daria* are male. It is evident, therefore, that this view has some justification, that it does enable the Andaman Islander to express the feelings and impressions evoked in him by the phenomena of the weather. I venture to think, however, that the southern myth is not quite so satisfactory as the northern one, does not translate quite so well all the different features of the natural phenomena with which it deals[1].

A most important element of the myth is the connection of *Biliku* (*Puluga*) with fire. In all the tribes there are legends that represent *Biliku* as the first possessor of fire, which was, according to some versions, given by her to the ancestors, and according to others stolen from her by one of them. There can be no doubt that these legends owe their origin to the connection between *Biliku* the storm-sender and lightning.

There are several different beliefs about the lightning. According to one of these the lightning (*Ele*) and the thunder (*Korude*) are persons, who produce the phenomena of the same name. Another belief is that thunder and lightning are produced by *Biliku* and *Tarai*. On the whole, it would seem that

[1] In a paper in *Folk-lore*, vol. XX, 1909, I put forward the hypothesis that probably at one time all the tribes of the Andamans regarded *Biliku* (*Puluga*) as female, and *Tarai* (*Daria*) as male. I am still inclined to think that there is some evidence for this, but a discussion of what the Andamanese beliefs may have been in the past is entirely outside the scope of this chapter and is therefore omitted.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2



X 182
•821
776

the latter belief is the one which is most frequently present to the minds of the natives. A man seeing lightning in the sky will say, according to the season, the prevailing wind, etc., *Biliku čatobom*, or *Tarai čatobom*; "*Biliku* (or *Tarai*) is at work." There are different accounts, however, of the way in which *Biliku* makes the lightning. One belief is that it is a fire-brand flung by her through the sky; a second is that it is a mother-of-pearl shell (*be*) similarly flung; yet a third statement is that she produces the lightning by striking a pearl shell (*be*) on a red stone.

There is no doubt that the Andamanese regard lightning as fire; the charring of trees struck by it is sufficient to convince them of this. Thus lightning and the sun are the only two natural fires that they know. (With the relation of *Biliku* to the sun I shall deal later.) As the wielder of lightning *Biliku* thus becomes the possessor of fire. The simplest of the different beliefs, the one following immediately from the natural phenomena, would be, therefore, that which makes the lightning a fire-brand. This is, on the whole, the one that is most usually expressed, at any rate in the South Andaman.

The explanation of lightning as a shell depends not only upon the pearly lustre of this kind of shell, but also on other features of it. The shell in question (*be*) is used by women alone, and its use is confined to slicing yams and other vegetables in preparing them for food. Its association with *Biliku* therefore follows from the view of *Biliku* as female and as being especially associated with yams and other vegetable foods. Granting this fundamental connection, then the brightness of the shell, its keen edge and the way in which it can be made to skim through the air, will explain the statement that lightning is just such a shell thrown by *Biliku*. In the South Andaman, where *Puluga* is regarded as male, this belief about the pearl shell would be out of harmony with the rest of the myth, and, as we should expect, it is not found. However, the *Aka-Bea* word for lightning (*be-iya*, the *-iya* or *-ya* being a suffix) suggests that they may have had a similar belief in the past[1].

In the North Andaman the two views of lightning as a fire-brand and as a shell are both held, because they both, in

[1] The stem *be* seems to be connected with the idea of cutting.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2



different ways, fit in well with the rest of the myth. There is yet a third view in which these two contradictory beliefs are, as it were, reconciled. This is that *Biliku* produces lightning by striking a pearl shell against a red stone.

In the North Andaman the action of throwing a shell or a fire-brand is regarded as typical of *Biliku*; this is the way in which she is pictured by the native, and in which she would doubtless be portrayed if the Andamanese had a pictorial art. In the dance described in an earlier chapter, in which the dancer gave representations of various mythical beings, *Biliku* was represented by the dancer holding a shell in his hand and dancing round threatening to throw the shell at the spectators.

The representation of *Biliku* or *Puluga* as throwing her lightning in the form of a fire-brand or a shell appears in several of the legends of the origin of fire, and in particular in the legend of which different versions are found in all parts of the islands that tells how the kingfisher stole fire from *Biliku* and how the latter flung a fire-brand or a shell at the thief.

The most usual form of the fire legend, and the only one that I ever heard, is that in which the fire is stolen. Mr Man has recorded a version in which *Puluga* is represented as *giving* the fire to the ancestors. Considerable importance attaches to this motive of the story as it reveals to us the way in which the Andamanese usually think of *Biliku* and of their own relation to her. She is not, so far as these stories go, a benefactress who by the invention of fire has earned the gratitude of men, but rather a person with whom the human society, both in the time of the ancestors and at the present day, is in a condition of opposition. Though *Biliku* had fire, yet she kept it for herself and it was only obtained from her by stealth. She was angry when her fire was stolen and tried to punish the offender.

This opposition between *Biliku* and the ancestors is shown in other legends. In some of the stories she is represented not as living with the ancestors, but as living on one side of a narrow strait while the ancestors lived on the other, as in the *Akar-Balc* and *A-Pučikwar* legends. She is thus separated from the ancestors in the minds of the natives. In the *Aka-Kcde* legend the ancestors eat the foods that *Bilika* regards as

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2



*Tomo* who made it so. In Mr Man's account *Tomo* is degraded to the position of being merely the first man made by *Puluga*, but in the accounts that were given to me by the natives of the *Akar-Bale* and *A-Pučikwar* tribes *Tomo* was a rival of *Puluga*; sometimes one and sometimes the other was spoken of as being the supreme maker of all things. An *Akar-Bale* man of very high intelligence, who had been educated as a Christian, in trying to explain to me statements about *Tomo* made by another *Akar-Bale* who was regarded as an authority on the legends of his tribe, said that *Tomo* was the same thing to the *Akar-Bale* that God is to the Christian. When I asked him if it was not rather *Puluga* who was the Andaman equivalent of God, he said that some people might think so, but that according to the old man to whom I was talking it was *Tomo* and not *Puluga* who occupied the position[1].

182 X
776

There is only one more point that needs to be discussed, and that is the connection of *Biliku* with the spirits. It is clear that *Biliku* and *Tarai* must be distinguished from the spirits (*Lau*), yet at the same time *Biliku* is brought into relation with the spirits by the existence of two alternative explanations of bad weather. One of the explanations is that storms are due to *Biliku*, while the other is that they are due to the spirits, particularly the spirits of the sea. Both these beliefs, contradictory as they seem, are held by the Andamanese. The connection of the spirits with the weather is due to the fact that

182 X
776
775
821

[1] To complete the discussion of this part of the subject it would be necessary to deal with many points in the legends of the real meaning of which I do not feel satisfied. I have, for instance, given no explanation of the position of *Pęrǰido* in the *Biliku-Tarai* myth, although this is probably an important matter. Nor have I traced to its source the connection of *Biliku* (with her net, and her hole, or cave, in which she shuts herself up to sleep and from which she comes out to bring rain and storm) with the spider. Besides *Tomo*, *Biliku* has yet another competitor for the position of control over the fine weather of the hot season, namely the snake, *or-čubi* (*wara-ǰobo*), which is regarded as being in some way the guardian of honey and of fine weather. There are legends that show the connection of this snake with honey (page 227) and the same connection is shown in the honey-eating ceremony (page 105). According to Mr Man, when the natives of the South Andaman see a dark cloud approaching and they do not wish it to rain they threaten *Puluga* that they will call up the *wara-ǰobo* to bite him. The snake, like other snakes, is only to be seen during the hot weather of the honey season. It may be remembered that it is from this snake that the pattern used in decorating the body with white clay is named.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2



the weather is a thing that can limit the activity of the society, and we saw in the last chapter that there is a tendency to associate with the spirits of the dead all things that in any way interfere with the smooth progress of social life. When it is said that a storm can be stopped by swishing arrows in the sea, or by placing in the sea a piece of *Anadendron* creeper, it is to the spirits of the sea, who are afraid of arrows and of the *Anadendron*, that the storm is attributed, and not to *Biliku*.

In the *A-Pučikwar* tribe I found an association of *Bilik* with the spirits. One man of this tribe (a medicine-man or dreamer) stated that the *Bilik* are a distinct class of spirits, distinct from the *Lau* and the *Jurua*, yet similar to them. It is the *Bilik* who control the weather. Certain men, when they die, become not *Lau* or *Jurua*, but *Bilik*. Thus in one of his dreams that he related to me he met and conversed with the spirit of a deceased friend whom he spoke of as *Boičo Bilik*, *Boičo* having been his name when he was alive. A medicine-man is able to control the weather through his communication with the *Bilik* in dreams. In this tribe therefore we find a doctrine according to which *Bilik* is not the name of a single being but of a class of beings similar in essentials to the other two classes of spirits. It seemed to me possible that these beliefs are a comparatively late introduction by some of the medicine-men of the tribe. The *Boičo* about whom my informant *Tora* dreamed seemed to have had some part in the development of the doctrine. This does not, however, in the least detract from its value as affording us an insight into the beliefs of the Andamanese.

These beliefs clearly spring from an attempt to distinguish from one another the different northerly and easterly winds, each of the recognizable winds being regarded as a separate person, and from the merging together of the two contrary beliefs in the weather as regulated by spirits and by *Bilik* and *Teria*. The general system of beliefs about spirits as being responsible for all things that may affect human well-being inevitably leads to the notion that the weather is controlled by the spirits, and this is implied also in the belief that a medicine-man (whose power is derived from contact with the spirits) is also able to influence the weather to some extent. This doctrine, however,

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2



conflicts with the view of the weather and the seasons as controlled by *Biliku* and *Tarai*, who are not spirits but personifications of natural phenomena. It is perhaps this conflict between doctrines, both of them important and indeed necessary, that has led to the elaboration of the peculiar beliefs met with in the *A-Pučikwar* tribe.

I have dealt with most of the more important details of the *Biliku-Tarai* myth, and have tried to show that the whole myth is an expression of the social value of the phenomena of the weather and the seasons. These phenomena affect the social life in certain definite ways and thereby become the objects of certain sentiments; these sentiments are expressed in the legends. *Biliku* and *Tarai* are personifications of the N.E. and S.W. monsoons; as such they are responsible for the weather; feelings awakened by the weather are therefore referred to *Biliku* and *Tarai*; thus the fear of a cyclone at certain periods of the year is expressed as a fear of the anger of *Biliku*. Since the time when men go in fear of storms is also the time when they are just beginning to dig up yams and eat them, the myth connects the anger of *Biliku* with the digging up of yams, and similarly in the cases of honey and the cicada. As *Biliku* is associated with vegetable foods, and these are things with which women chiefly have to do, *Biliku* (in the North Andaman) is regarded as female; *Tarai*, being associated with flesh foods, is male; the two are therefore conceived as wife and husband. As the maker of storms *Biliku* is responsible for the lightning and is therefore possessed of fire. She thus comes to be regarded as the first possessor of fire. This gives rise to stories of how the ancestors obtained their fire from *Biliku*, and as she is generally regarded as being hostile rather than friendly towards mankind, the stories relate how the fire was stolen from her. But besides being the maker of storms *Biliku* is also the dispenser of the good things of the season of the N.E. monsoon and when this aspect of the procession of the seasons is prominent before their minds the natives think of *Biliku* as a benefactress of mankind. As she is the possessor of fire, and as fire is the source of the life of the society, she comes to be regarded as herself the source of life, though there is an

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2



372 by land or sea, is not confined to them, but is undertaken by those of either sex who have most leisure or are least burdened.

11. Probably nothing introduced by us so impressed them with the extent of our power and resources as *matches;* that we should be able to produce fire with such ease and by such means was not unnaturally regarded as evidence of our being superhumanly gifted.

372 776 **Superstitions.**—1. Fire is supposed to possess the power of driving away evil spirits: when, therefore, at night they hear in imagination the approach of the dreaded *.ē'rem-chàu'gala,*[1] they throw burning logs into the jungle surrounding the encampment. Again, should any of the community have occasion to leave their huts at night, no matter how short the distance, he (or she) invariably takes some fire as a protection against any demons that may be in the vicinity; a torch is also taken if it be very dark at the time.

[821] 2. Of darkness they assert that it was instituted on account of the misconduct of two of their ancestors, as will shortly be mentioned.[2]

776 784 821 3. From fear of displeasing *mai'a .ō'gar-*[3] (Mr. Moon), during the first few evenings of the third quarter, when he rises after sundown, they preserve silence, cease from any work on which they may be engaged—even halting should they be travelling—and almost extinguish any light or fire which they may be burning. This is owing to the belief that he is jealous of attention being distracted to other objects than himself at such a time, or of any other light being employed than that which he has been graciously pleased to afford so abundantly. By the time the moon has ascended a few degrees, however, they restore their fires and resume their former occupations, as they consider they have then sufficiently complied with *mai'a .ō'gar-*'s wishes and requirements. The glowing aspect of the full moon on its first appearance above the horizon is supposed to indicate that *mai'a .ō'gar-* is enraged at finding some persons neglecting to observe these conciliatory measures; there is also an idea that, if he be greatly annoyed, he will punish them by withdrawing or diminishing the light of his countenance.

776 821 4. Regarding meteorolites they appear to possess no superstition. Shooting stars and meteors they view with apprehension, believing them to be lighted faggots hurled into the air by *.ē'rem-chàu'gala* in order to ascertain the whereabouts of any unhappy wight in his vicinity; if, therefore, they happen to be away from

[1] *Vide post* "Religious Beliefs, &c.," paragraph 12.
[2] *Vide post* "Mythology," paragraph 31.
[3] Singing, dancing, and thumping on the sounding board at that hour are, however, not displeasing to him.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2



their encampment when the phenomenon occurs, they invariably secrete themselves, at the bottom of a boat, for example, if fishing, and remain silent for a short time before venturing to resume their interrupted employment.

5. Between dawn and sunrise they will do no work, save what is noiseless, lest the sun should be offended, and cause an eclipse, storm, or other misfortune to overtake them. If, therefore, they have occasion to start on a journey or hunting expedition at so early an hour, they proceed as quietly as possible, and refrain from the practice, observed at other periods of the day, of testing the strength of their bow-strings, as the snapping noise caused thereby is one of those to which the sun objects.

6. They invariably partake of a meal soon after rising, as it is believed that no luck can attend any one who starts to his day's work on an empty stomach.

7. They dare not use the wood of the tree called *al·aba-* (the bark of which supplies the fibre used in making harpoon lines and turtle nets) for cooking turtle, for, as will be found elsewhere,[1] this is an act so abhorrent to *mai·a .ō·gar-* that he visits the offenders with summary and condign punishment.

8. In tempestuous weather the leaves of the *Mimusops Indica* are constantly thrown on the fires, as the popping sounds thus produced are thought to have the effect of assuaging *Pū·luga-*'s fury and causing the weather to moderate.

9. When they see a dark cloud approaching at a time when rain would prove very inconvenient, as when hunting, travelling, &c., they advise *Pū·luga-* to divert its course by shouting "*wâ·ra-jō·bo kō·pke, kō·pke, kō·pke*" [*Wā·ra-jōbo*[2] will bite, bite, bite (you)]. If in spite of this a shower falls they imagine that *Pū·luga-* is undeterred by their warning.

10. This practice of menacing *Pū·luga-* is probably that to which Colonel Symes alluded when he wrote that "they confess the influence of a malignant Being, and, during the south-west monsoon, when tempests prevail with unusual violence, they deprecate his wrath by wild choruses."

11. Storms are regarded as indications of *Pū·luga-*'s anger; winds are his breath, and are caused to be blown by his will; when it thunders *Pū·luga-* is said to be growling at something which has annoyed him; and lightning, they say, is a burning log flung by him at the object of his wrath.

12. There is an idea current that if during the first half of the rainy season they eat the *Caryota sobolifera*, or pluck and eat the seeds of the *Entada pursætha*, or gather yams or other edible

[1] *Vide post* "Mythology," paragraph 32.

[2] This snake, as already mentioned under "Medicine," appears to be the *Ophiophagus elaps*.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2



821 776 262 roots, another deluge would be the consequence, for *Pū·luga-* is supposed to require these for his own consumption at that period of the year; the restriction, however, does not extend to the *fallen* seeds of the *Entada pursætha*, which may be collected and eaten at any time with impunity.

821 776 789 13. Another of the offences visited by *Pū·luga-* with storms is the burning of beeswax,[1] the smell of which is said to be peculiarly obnoxious to him. Owing to this belief it is a common practice secretly to burn wax when a person against whom they bear ill-will is engaged in fishing, hunting, or the like, the object being to spoil his sport and cause him as much discomfort as possible; hence arises the saying among them, when suddenly overtaken by a storm, that some one must be burning wax.

776 821 787 14. The rainbow is regarded as *ē·rem-chàw·gala's* dancing or sounding board, which is only visible at certain times; its appearance is said to betoken approaching sickness or death to one of their number, and is, therefore, inauspicious.[2]

823 776 15. There are no superstitions anent hills, valleys, rocks, &c., which, as stated in my last paper,[3] *Pū·luga-* is believed to have formed for some purpose of his own. The formation of creeks is attributed to a fortunate accident, the account of which being connected with their traditions must be reserved for that section.[4]

823 775 16. They imagine earthquakes to be caused by some mischievous male spirits of their deceased ancestors, who, in their impatience at the delay in the resurrection, combine to shake the palm-tree on which they believe the earth to rest, in the hope thereby of destroying the cane bridge[5] which stretches between this world and heaven, and alone maintains the former in its present position. These selfish spirits are, however, said to be careful never to indulge in such practices during the dry months, as they imagine that, in consequence of the surface of the earth being then much cracked with heat, there would be considerable risk of its tumbling about their ears and crushing them instead of toppling over in one solid mass. They are said, therefore, never to play at earthquakes except during, or shortly after, the rainy season. But for the intervention of female spirits, who do their utmost to dissuade or prevent their male companions from continued enjoyment of this dangerous pastime, they are persuaded that there would be much cause for alarm on every occurrence of an earthquake.

775 17. They believe that every child which is conceived has had a

[1] *d'ja pid-* (*vide ante* "Death and Burial," paragraph 4, footnote).
[2] The Chippeway Indians call it the dancing spirit (*vide* "Travels in the Interior of North America," by Maximilian, Prince of Wied).
[3] *Vide ante* "Topography," paragraph 3.
[4] *Vide post* "Mythology," paragraph 13.
[5] *Vide post* "Religious Beliefs, &c.," paragraph 25.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2



776 those in pain or distress he is pitiful, and sometimes deigns to afford relief.

VI. He is the Judge from whom each soul receives its sentence after death, and, to *some* extent, the hope of escape from the torments of *jer·eg-làr-mū·gu-* (regarding which anon) is said to affect their course of action in the present life.[1]

9. *Pū·luga-* is believed to live in a large stone house in the sky, with a wife whom he created for himself; she is green in appearance, and has two names, *chăn·a .àw·lola* (Mother Fresh-water Shrimp), and *chăn·a .pâ·lak-* (Mother Eel); by her he has a large family, all, except the eldest, being girls; these last, known as *mô·ro-win-* (sky spirits or angels), are said to be black in appearance, and, with their mother, amuse themselves from time to time by throwing fish and prawns into the streams and sea for the use of the inhabitants of the world. *Pū·luga-*'s son is called *.pīj-chô·r-*: he is regarded as a sort of archangel, and is alone permitted to live with his father, whose orders it is his duty to make known to the *mô·ro-win-*.

●[82] 10. *Pū·luga-* is said to eat and drink, and, during the dry months of the year, to pass much of his time in sleep, as is proved by his voice (thunder) being rarely heard at that season; he is the source whence they receive all their supplies of animals, birds, and turtles; when they anger him he comes out of his house and blows, and growls, and hurls burning faggots at them—in other words, visits their offences with violent thunderstorms and heavy squalls; except for this purpose he seldom leaves home, unless it be during the rains, when he descends to earth to provide himself with certain kinds of food; how often this happens they do not know since, now-a-days, he is invisible.

776 761 11. *Pū·luga-* never himself puts any one to death, but he objects so strongly to seeing a pig badly quartered and carved that he invariably points out those who offend him in this respect to a class of malevolent spirits called *.chôl-*, one of whom forthwith despatches the unfortunate individual.

776 761 753 12. *Pū·luga-* has no *authority* over the evil spirits, the most dreaded of which are *.ē·rem-chàw·gala*, *.jū·ru-win-*, and *.nī·la-*; they are self-created, and have existed from time immemorial. The first of these, the evil spirit of the woods, has a numerous progeny by his wife *chăn·a .bad·gilola*, who remains at home with her daughters and younger children, while her husband and grown-up sons roam about the jungles with a lighted torch

[1] It is from regard to the fact that their beliefs on these points approximate so closely to the true faith concerning the Deity that I have adopted the English method of spelling all equivalents of "God" with an initial capital.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2



16. While the Andamanese say that they are liable to be struck by *.ē·rem-chàu·gala* or *.jū·ru-win-* at any time or in any place, the *.chôl-* strike those only who offend them, and that during the day while they are stationary, this being necessitated by the distance from the earth of their abode, whence they hurl their darts: an invisible spear is the weapon they always use, and this is thrown with unerring aim at the head of their victim, and is invariably fatal. As these demons are considered especially dangerous on the hottest days, they are apparently held accountable for the deaths from sunstroke which happen from time to time.

17. The sun, *chān·a .bo·do-*, is the wife of the moon, *mai·a .ō·gar-*, and the stars, *.châ·to-*, which are of both sexes, are their children: the latter go to sleep during the day; the whole family have their meals near *Pū·luga-*'s house, but never enter it; *chān·a .bō·do-* is like fire and covered with thorns, but *mai·a .ō·gar-* is white skinned, and has two long tusks[1] and a big beard; their home is situated somewhere below the eastern horizon, and while the former, after setting, rests till dawn, the latter, probably in consequence of the cares of his numerous family, is obliged to keep very irregular hours. During their passage under the earth to their home, they are believed to afford the blessing of light to the unfortunate spirits in Hades, and also, while sleeping, to shed a "dim religious light" over that region: it is by *Pū·luga-*'s command that the celestial bodies, while crossing the sky, bestow their light.

18. The phenomena of the waning and waxing of the moon is explained by saying that they are occasioned by "his" applying a coating of cloud to his person by degrees, after the manner of their own use of *kòi·ob-* and *tâ·la-ōg-*,[2] and then gradually wiping it off.[3]

19. Reference has already been made to their superstition regarding the cause of a lunar eclipse, but in case *mai·a .ō·gar-* should be so ill-advised as permanently to withhold his light or render himself in other ways still more disagreeable, whenever the moon is eclipsed some persons at once seize their bows and twang them as rapidly as possible, thereby producing a rattling sound as if discharging a large number of arrows, while others commence at once sharpening their *râ·tà-*.[4] Of course this hostile demonstration is never lost upon the moon, who does not venture to hurt those who show themselves ready

[1] The horns of the crescent moon.

[2] *Vide* Appendix B, items 58 and 60.

[3] "The Eskimo say that the sun, which they regard as feminine, smears the face of her brother, the moon, with soot, when he presses his love upon her" (*vide* Peschel, p. 256).

[4] *Vide* Appendix B, item 2.

2: Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2



to give him so uncomfortable a reception. Their immunity from harm on these occasions has given rise to some joking at the expense of the luminary in question, for, during the continuance of the eclipse, they shout in inviting tones to the hidden orb as follows:—*.ō·gar-, la den bal·ak ban lē·be ng'ĭdō·ati! dō·ati! dō·ati!*[1] (O moon, I will give you the seed of the *bal·ak!* show yourself! appear! appear!)

20. This seems to explain the custom which Colonel Symes describes as adoration to the sun and moon, for, as has been stated, no traces of worship or forms of religion, in the common acceptation of the term, exist among these tribes.

21. A solar eclipse alarms them too much to allow of their indulging in jests or threats, &c.: during the time it lasts they all remain silent and motionless, as if in momentary expectation of some calamity.

22. The world, exclusive of the sea, is declared to be flat and to rest on an immense palm-tree (*Caryota sobolifera*) called *bâ·rata-*, which stands in the midst of a jungle comprising the whole area under the earth. This jungle, *.châ·itâ·n-* (Hades), is a gloomy place, for, though visited in turn by the sun and moon, it can, in consequence of its situation, be only partially lighted: it is hither the *spirits* (*chàw·ga-*) of the departed are sent by *Pū·luga-* to await the Resurrection.

23. No change takes place in *.châ·itâ·n-* in respect to growth or age; all remain as they were at the time of their departure from the earth, and the adults are represented as engaged in hunting, after a manner peculiar to disembodied spirits. In order to furnish them with sport the spirits of animals and birds are also sent to *.châ·itâ·n-*, but as there is no sea there, the *chàw·ga-* of fish and turtle remain in their native element and are preyed upon by *.jū·ru-win-*. The spirits (*chàw·ga-*) and souls (*ōt-yō·lo-*) of all children who die before they cease to be entirely dependent on their parents (*i.e.*, under six years of age) go to *.châ·itâ·n-*, and are placed under a *ràu-*[2] (*Ficus laccifera*) on the fruit of which they subsist. As none can quit *.châ·itâ·n-* who have once entered, they support their stories regarding it by a tradition that in ages long past an *ôko-paĭ·ad-*[3] was favoured in a dream with a vision of the regions and of the pursuits of the disembodied spirits.

24. Some of their legends, as will be seen elsewhere,[4] appear to bear out the doctrine of the transmigration of souls, as

[1] This is said derisively, for, although these seeds are largely consumed by the pigs, the aborigines themselves do not consider them fit for food.

[2] *Vide ante* "Superstitions," paragraph 17.

[3] *Vide ante* "Magic and Witchcraft," paragraph 1.

[4] *Vide post* "Mythology," paragraphs 15, 16, 29.

2: Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2



*bō·do-la-lô·ringa-*, from noon till 3 p.m.
*bō·do-lâr-dī·yanga-*, or, *elâr-di·yanga-*, } from 3 p.m. till 5 p.m. } afternoon.
*dī·la-*, from 5 p.m. till sunset.
*bō·do-la-lô·tinga-*, sunset.
*elâ·kà-dàu·ya-*, twilight.
*elâr-yī·tinga-*, after dark till midnight.
*gū·rug-chàu-*, midnight.

2. Of the property of the sun-dial they possess no knowledge, nor can they indicate short intervals of time, such as fractions of an hour, save by some such vague term as—"wait a little" (*tô·laba!*), "it will soon be finished" (*kan·ya!*), "it is close at hand" (*wai lag·ība!*).

3. As they have no method of numeration, it of course follows that they are unable to denote the number of lunations occurring during a solar year, which with them consists of three main divisions, viz.: *pâ·par-*, the cool season; *yē·re-bō·do-*, the hot season; and *gū·mul-*, the rainy season. These again are subdivided into twenty minor[1] seasons, named, for the most part, after various trees which, flowering at successive periods, afford the necessary sources of supply to the honey bees that are so numerous in these islands.

4. They have distinct terms for indicating the four phases of each lunation, *i.e.*:

*ō·gar-dē·reka-yabā·-*, new moon (lit., moon-baby-small);
*ō·gar-châ·nag-*, first quarter (lit., moon-big);
*ō·gar-chàu-*, full moon (lit., moon-body);
*ō·yar-kī·nab-*, last quarter (lit., moon-thin);

and that they further recognise the influence of this luminary upon the tides may be gathered from their words denoting high and low tide at full and new moon, viz.:

*ō·gar-kâ·la-*,[2] high tide at the springs at full moon.
*yē·char-kâ·la-*,[3] high tide at the springs at new moon.
*ō·gar-pâ·di-*,[4] low tide at the springs at full moon.
*yē·char-pâ·di-*, low tide at the springs at new moon.
*târbō·rong-kâ·la-*, flood tide at full and new moon (in the evening) from 3 to 9 p.m.
*gū·mul-kâ·la-*, flood tide at full and new moon (in the morning) from 3 to 9 a.m.
*el·a-bū·nga-*, or *kâ·la-bū·nga-*, flood tide.

[1] *Vide* Appendix H.
[2] Lit., moon-tide.
[3] Lit., dark-tide.
[4] *pâ·di* does not apparently occur alone, or in connection with any other word: its meaning may, therefore, be inferred from the context.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2



821 *el a-ē·rnga-*, or *kâ·la-ē·rnga-*, ebb tide.
*nô·ro-*, neap tide.
*tô·yâ-*,[1] low tide at daybreak.

823 5. The four cardinal points of the compass are distinguished; the names indicating these are not derived from prevalent winds, but, as far as the east and west are concerned, have reference to the sun, the word for the former signifying "the appearing face place" (*elârmū·gu-*), and for the latter "the disappearing face place" (*târ-mū·gu-*); the term for south is the "separate place" (*el-iglā·-*), while the meaning and derivation of that denoting north (*elâr-jan·a-*) is unknown to the present inhabitants.

821 6. For the winds, too, they have distinctive names, viz.:
*châl-jō·tama-*, north-west wind.
*Pū·luga-tâ-*, north-east wind (lit., "The Creator His wind").
*dē·ria-*, south-west wind.
*chī·la-tâ-*, south-east wind.

Of these the second (*Pū·luga-tâ-*) only, now-a-days, possesses any special significance; it is called "The Creator's (or God's) wind," because it proceeds from that part of heaven where the connecting bridge[2] between this world and the next is supposed to be situated.

7. They identify three forms of clouds, and indicate them thus:
*tô·wia-*, cumulus.
*ara-mū·ga-bar·nga-*, stratus.
*yūm-li-dī·ya-*, nimbus.

8. Of all the stars and constellations Orion's belt alone is found to bear a name (*bē·la-*), but this is not to be wondered at, as they never venture upon any distant voyages, and do not therefore experience any necessity for studying the bearing of the various planets and constellations at different seasons, or for distinguishing them by name. Their astronomical observations have, however, extended to the discovery of the milky way, which they call *ig-yō·lowa-*[3], and poetically describe as the road used by the angels (*ṃō·rowin-*).[4]

439 **Trade, Exchangeable Values and Property.**—1. It is evident, from the accounts of various writers, that for many years prior to our present occupation, these islands were visited by trading vessels manned by Malays, Burmese, and Chinese, who were *said* to traffic with the Andamanese for edible birds'-nests and *béche de*

[1] *Vide post* "Hunting," paragraph 39 (footnote).
[2] *Vide ante* "Religious Beliefs," &c., paragraph 25.
[3] The Chippeways call the milky way "the path of the ghosts" (*vide* "Travels in the Interior of North America," by Maximilian, Prince of Wied).
[4] *Vide ante* "Religious Beliefs," &c., paragraph 9.

# APPENDIX H.

## LIST OF *Proper Names*, TOGETHER WITH A LIST OF THE "*Flower*" *Names* BORNE BY YOUNG WOMEN DURING MAIDENHOOD, AND UNTIL THEY BECOME MOTHERS, AND A LIST OF THE VARIOUS *Seasons*.

| Proper names (*common to both sexes*). | | "Flower" name. | Name of tree (or insect) in season. | Names of the various minor seasons. | Names of the principal seasons. | Remarks. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| .bal·ta | .küt·iola | .chĭ·lipa ... | lĕ·kera- ... ... | lĕ·kera-wdb-[1] ... | pă·par-, also pă·par-wdb- | The "*pă·par-*" commences about the middle of November, and ends about the middle of February. It comprises the *cool season*. |
| .bŏ·ra | .lŏ·ra | | chĭ·lip- ... ... | chĭ·lip-wdb- ... | | [1] "*wdb*" signifies "season." |
| .bĕ·rebi | .lĭ·pa | .mŏ·da ... | pă-... ... ... | pă-wdb- ... ... ... | | The "*yĕ·re-bŏ·do-*" comprises the *summer and autumn* of the year. Honey is abundant at the commencement of this season, during the whole course of which the principal fruit trees are in bearing. This season lasts about three months, viz., till about the middle of May. |
| .bĭ·a | .lŏ·kola | | jŏr- ... ... | jŏr-wdb- ... ... ... | | |
| .bi·elo | .mĕ·ba | .ŏ·ra ... ... ... | ŏ·ro- ... ... | ŏ·ro-wdb- ... ... | | |
| .bĭ·ra | .mĕ·bola | .jĭ·dga ... | jĭ·dga- ... ... | jĭ·dga-wdb- ... | yĕ·re-bŏ·do-, also rdp-wdb-[2] | [2] Lit., *season of abundance*. |
| .bĭ·rolo | .ñgŏ·ngala | | tă·tib- ... ... | tă·tib-wdb- ... | | [3] This period is called "*lad·a-chău-*" (dirty body) owing to their practice of smearing their persons with the sap of a plant (*jĭ·ni-*) when engaged in removing a honeycomb from a hive swarming with bees. |
| .bă·lbala | .nid·lĭ | .yĕ·re... ... | yĕ·re- ... ... | yĕ·re-wdb- ... [3] | | |
| .bă·rla | .pür·ŭa | | bă·ja- ... ... | bă·ja-wdb- ... | | |
| .bă·ñga | .pŏ·tya | .pă·taka ... ... | pă·tak- ... ... | pă·tak-wdb- ... | | |
| .chŏ·rmila | .pŏ·wiola | .bal·ya ... ... | bai·la- ... ... | bai·la-wdb- ... | | |
| .chĕ·tla | .pă·ŋga | .rĕ·che ... | rĕ·che- ... ... | rĕ·che-wdb- ... | | This season embraces the (4) *tă·la-tŏng dĕ·reka-* (lit., *fresh foliage*) or *spring*, and (5) *gă·mul-wdb-*. The former lasts about 3½ months, viz., till about the close of August. It comprises not only the Spring but the *first half* of the *rainy monsoon*. The latter (*gă·mul-wdb-*) lasts about 2½ months, viz., till about the middle of November, and comprises the *latter half* of the *rainy monsoon*. Among the articles of food eaten at this season are (6) the *bă·tu-* (a slug found in rotten logs of Gurjon wood) and (7) the *ŏi·yum-* (larva of the Great Capricornis beetle). The tails of the former are broken off and thrown away, hence *tŏ·pnga-* (breaking off). |
| .lŏ·ra | .rĭ·a | .chă·gara ... ... | chă·dak- ... ... | chă·dak-wdb- ... [4] | | |
| .pŏ·lat | .rĭ·cla | | chă·langa- ... | chă·langa-wdb- ... | | |
| .l ra | .tŏ·lŏl | .chär·apa ... | bă·tu-[6] ... ... | tŏ·pnga-wdb- ... | | |
| .l·wola | .lŭ·ra | | chă·rap- ... ... | chă·rap-wdb- ... | | |
| .jăr·o | .wŏ·i | .chen·ra ... | ŏi·yam-[7] .. .. | ŏi·yum - kŏ·pnga-wdb- | gă·mŭl- | |
| .jŏ·ptolo | .wŏi·chola | | chen·ara- ... ... | chen·ara-wdb- ... [5] | | |
| .kă·la | .wŏ·loga | | | | | |
| kĭl·ya | .yĕ·ga | .yă·lu ... | rdr- ... .. | rdr-wdb- ... ... | | |
| | | | yŭ·lu- ... ... | yŭ·lu-wdb- ... | | |

551
881
821
824

181 weakly or the helpless and to captives, kind to their wives and proud of their children, whom they often over-pet; but when angered cruel, jealous, treacherous and vindictive, and always unstable. They are bright and merry companions, talkative, inquisitive and restless, busy in their own pursuits, keen sportsmen and naturally independent, absorbed in the chase from sheer love of it and other physical occupations and not lustful, indecent or indecently abusive.

As the years advance they are apt to become intractable, masterful and quarrelsome. A people to like but not to trust. Exceedingly conservative and bound up in ancestral custom, not amenable to civilization, all the teaching of years bestowed on some of them having introduced no abstract ideas among the tribesmen, and changed no habit in practical matters affecting comfort, health, and mode of life. Irresponsibility is a characteristic, though instances of a keen sense of responsibility are not wanting. Several Andamanese can take charge of the steering of a large steam launch through dangerous channels, exercising then caution, daring and skill though not to an European extent, and the present dynamo-man of the electric lighting on Ross Island is an Andamanese, while the wire-man is a Nicobarese, both of whom exhibit the liveliest sense of their responsibilities, though a deep-rooted unconquerable fear of the dynamo and wires when at work. The Nicobarese shows, as is to be expected, the higher order of intellect. Another Andamanese was used by Portman for years as an accountant and kept his accounts in English accurately and well.

The intelligence of the women is good, though not as a rule equal to that of the men. In old age, however, they frequently exhibit a considerable mental capacity which is respected. Several women trained in a former local Mission Orphanage from early childhood have shown much mental aptitude and capacity, the "savagery" in them however only dying down as they grew older. They can read and write well, understand and speak English correctly, have acquired European habits completely, and possess much shrewdness and common sense: one has herself taught her Andamanese husband, the dynamo-man above mentioned, to read and write English and induced him to join the Government House Press as a compositor. She writes a well expressed and correctly spelt letter in English, and has a shrewd notion of the value of money. Such women, when the instability of youth is past, make good "ayas," as their men-kind make good waiters at table.

The highest general type of intelligence yet noticed is in the Jarawa tribe.

805 823 821 **Mental Capacities.**—The Andamanese divide the day by the position of the sun and can roughly divide the night, though they have no idea of steering by the sun or stars. The year is known by the three main seasons of the climate and the months rudely by the flowering and fruiting of trees of economic value to them. Tides are understood and carefully noted, a necessary accomplishment to a people largely living on shell-fish and navigating shallow tidal creeks and shores. They are aware of the connection of the phases of the moon with the tides and have names for the four phases of each lunation. They know the four quarters of the compass in reference to the daily position of the sun and have names for the four chief winds that blow (N. W., N. E., S. E., S. W.). They differentiate three kinds of clouds:—Cumulus, stratus, nimbus. The only constellation they have distinguished is Orion and they have discovered the Milky Way for which they have a name, and also call it "the way of the angels" (*morowin*, the daughter-messengers of Puluga).

576 **Social Emotions.**—The social emotions are not generally expressed. The Andamanese have no words for ordinary salutations, greeting or for expressing thanks. On meeting they stare at each other for a lengthened period in silence, which the younger breaks with a commonplace remark and then follows an eager telling of news, which an Andamanese always delights in hearing. Relatives however sit in each other's laps, huddled closely together at *meeting*, weeping loudly and demonstratively, and after a long separation this may last for hours. The Onges are less demonstrative and on such occasions shed a few silent tears only and caress each other with their hands. At *parting* they take each other by the hand and blow on it, exchanging sentences of conventional farewell.

Undemonstrative though they are, the Andamanese are readily roused to emotion, finding that difficulty in separating the real from the assumed observed

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2



to them that I was able to find the various amphibia which subsequently proved to be new species. They know poisonous and non-poisonous snakes by sight and how to avoid being bitten. They could tell me which trees flowered and when, because they knew this affected the whereabouts and the quality of the honey, and they knew which flowers and roots had medicinal properties. The necessity, in accordance with their superstitions, of keeping their prey alive as long as possible has also given them a somewhat gruesome knowledge of anatomy and physiology. The call of food has also made them weather experts; they know which air currents and winds bring what animals, or cause them to vanish, and what game is likely to haunt what terrain. They could tell me where to find certain fish, or crustacea, or where certain roots or fruit in season were to be found.

The striking feature of their knowledge was that it did not merely relate to what was edible or inedible. Amphibia, reptiles and birds for example, they never eat under any circumstances; but they knew where to find them all for me, and they knew the bird migrations and how these related to the movements of the marine fauna.

Providentially, the exactitude of the Onges' botanical and zoological knowledge is matched by the magnitude of their superstitious fears. Were it not for this all the edible vegetation on the islands would have disappeared long ago as a result of their incredibly thoughtless destruction. The effect, therefore, is almost that of a purely involuntary, embryonic form of 'agriculture', contrasting strangely with their persisting, persistent and complete lack of interest in any formal care, however primitive. The Onges believe that the plants which produce edible roots and tubers belong to a spirit related to Eiuga, whose anger is aroused if he sees his plants being taken; his vengeance is quick and terrible.

There are on Little Andaman a number of creepers with edible fleshy roots, sometimes as thick as a man's wrist, sticking out horizontally at least fifty to sixty centimetres from the main stem, only just below the surface. They invariably grow in light soil, where there are no rocks, and are very easy for the Onges to reach with their digging sticks. These and the yams, sometimes as big as a football, which are to be found everywhere, the Onges have to steal from the spirit who owns them. The creepers themselves,